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Zhulali Discusses NATO Cooperation

AU0204185693 Tirana ATA in English 0818 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Statement by Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali to ATA, in Tirana on 2 April—"Greater Support and Security From NATO"]

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—After the end of the cold war, a cooperation between NATO and the former Warsaw Treaty member countries has been reached. The latest NATO meeting was of a great importance. Albania was for the first time represented there. Cooperation with NATO is close and I think it will yield its fruits, Mr. Zhulali, Albanian minister of defence, said his interview with ATA.

Albania has demanded to become a NATO member. NATO is taking concern of Albania because it plays an important role in the situation in the Balkans. It is the most active regulator of the Balkans. Albania's policy has also contributed to prevention of the conflict in the south and involvement of our region into a Balkan war, perhaps broader.

In my address in that meeting, I made a presentation of the policy of defence of Albania, the principles of defence. One of the main principles is cooperation with the neighbours, the democratic states, cooperation with NATO and the United States of America. I also stressed that the basic aim of Albania's policy of defence is its integration in NATO, because Albania meets all the conditions to be a full NATO member. I also stressed that this is in the interest of both NATO and Albania, in the interest of consolidation of international security and peace in the region. I also dwelt on the events in the tense region, the threat of a conflict in the south. I stressed the fact that the president of the Republic of Albania has also made known that the soonest possible recognition of Macedonia by the international community will be to the benefit of peace in the region. The meeting wound up with a statement. It should also be stressed that a consensus was reached, the worry over the events in Bosnia was voiced and stress was laid on the activity of the community to solve the situation there through negotiations. They said that Serbia should be forced to sign the document of peace. All were of the same opinion on this point and at the same time expressed their commitment for the prevention of the conflict which is claiming the lives of innocent people.

Of special importance for our delegation were bilateral meetings with NATO personalities and other colleagues. Among these important meetings I should like to mention that with the NATO Secretary General Woerner. Mr. Woerner stressed once more that he will make all efforts to help Albania. His visit in Aibania, Mr. Zhulali said, has had a positive effect and Mr. Woerner has given a clear signal that they will not allow Albania's security be affected. He also said that he has made it clear to all NATO ambassadors to help Albania in all the questions it may have regarding defence and the restructuring of the Army.

Berisha Attends Ceremony To Honor Martyrs

AU0304194693 Tirana ATA in English 0822 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 3 (ATA)—The President of the Republic Sali Berisha, the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori, the Premier Aleksander Meksi, chairmen of political parties, Eduard Selami, Skender Gjinushi, Sabri Godo, deputies, representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Albania attended the inauguration ceremony for the memorial devoted to the martyrs of democracy of Shkoder and the activities organized there on April 2.

After the memorial was uncovered and wreaths were laid, a commemorative rally was organized in front of "Migjeni" Theater in the presence of thousands of Shkoder inhabitants. In the speech on the occasion, the mayor of Shkoder said that on April 2, 1991, the ancient militant Shkoder experienced an event as painful as heroic. The youth of Shkoder showed to the communist plague two years ago the hatred inherited generation after generation for it and it declared publicly that it had sentenced to death the communism as a system, as a policy, as an ideology. They made it in the name of those sentenced with or without trials, in the name of those killed and whose graves are not yet known, in the name of hundreds and thousands former prisoners and the persecuted from the notorious dictatorship.

The President of the Republic Sali Berisha took the floor at the rally. "We are gathered here to commemorate an event which is as painful as sublime. The communist dictatorship in Albania, although it won in the elections, had to celebrate it with blood. Therefore it organized the barbarisms in Shkoder, during which it killed the heroes of Albanian democracy Arben Broci, Bujar Bishanaku, Besnik Cekja, Nazmi Kryeziu and wounded scores of other civilians. On April 2, Shkoder, after Timishuara, experienced the greatest massacre that communist cliques realised in Eastern Europe."

"Today, after two years," President Berisha continued, "Albania is quite another, we commemorate them with profound veneration. Like all the national martyrs, they have a special place in the hearts of the Albanians who love and honour freedom and the free Albania."

Further on President Berisha continued: "The sons of Shkoder were the symbol of Albania which was being reborn, and of its future. So it is our task to continue their mission with great devotion for a free and democratic Albania, in which the Albanians, blessed by God, are experiencing and enjoying a rebirth. The message of the martyrs will echo always in free Albania."

On April 2 President Berisha and the persons escorting him went to the graves of the city of Shkoder. He paid

homage to and laid a wreath on the graves of four martyrs of democracy who assassinated on April 2.

He also visited the house of Arben Broci. He met with his relatives. President Berisha said to Arben's mother, Lije Broci: "Your son is a symbol of a generation who brought democracy. That is why the whole people will honour and respect him." The people attending this meeting recalled many of the events of the democratic movement, when they worked and fought together with Arben Broci.

President Berisha also visited the house of Clirim Bajri, who got a grave wound on the chest on April 2. President, people, and other people present at the meeting recalled memoirs from that day.

In the context of April 2, a photo exhibition was opened in the city of Shkoder devoted to April 2, 1991. The photo exhibition is deed of the talented Shkoder photographers Angjelin Nenshati, Tonin Gega, and Paulin Palushi. These photographers managed to take pictures from those as tragic as heroic events which occurred on April 2, despite the gunshots and threats of the state security.

Attending the inauguration was also Premier Meksi, the Chairman of the Democratic Party Eduard Selami and other persons.

A commemorative party was held at the "Migjeni" Theater devoted to April 2, 1991 and four martyrs of democracy. Attending were President Berisha, the Speaker of the Parliament Pjeter Arbnori, Premier Meksi, representatives of political parties, the clergy, and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Albania. Also attending were many participants in these events.

Eduard Perjaku, chairman of "April 2, 1991" Anticommunist Association, made the speech on the occasion. Pjeter Arbnori also spoke at this meeting.

On this occasion, the high decoration "Martyr of Democracy" was awarded to Arben Broci, Nazmi Kryeziu, Bujar Bishanaku, and Besnik Ceka. Decorations were also awarded to Pellumb Pellumbi and Olsi Lorja, killed by the dictatorship in the border.

Agreement for Donation of Swiss Francs Signed

AU0204173893 Tirana ATA in English 0824 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—On April 1, an agreement was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation to donate 9.5 million Swiss francs to Albania, the spokesman of this ministry reports.

This amount is only a part of the project of the Bank of Europe for Development and Reconstruction, which will be used for the development of the Albanian telecommunication. This amount includes that granting of an international transit station with nearly 30 thousand lines of elements.

Zhulali Receives Turkish Destroyer Captain

AU0304202093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] This morning Defense Minister Safet Zhulali received the crew of the destroyer Yucetepe of the Turkish Navy, which is performing maneuvers within the NATO combined forces and is here in our country for a six-day visit.

After welcoming the Turkish friends, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali said that this is the second Turkish warship that has visited our waters and the Durres port. We hope that other ships will come, because they are conveying messages of friendship and security.

Zhulali then spoke about the tense situation in the region and Albania's attitude toward solving conflicts through dialogue and in a peaceful way. Our relations and the exchange of experience between our Navy fleets show that we have further strengthened our ties and cooperation in the military field. An indication of this is also the fact that several Albanian students left for Turkey yesterday to attend Turkish military academies.

It is a great pleasure to visit Albania, Vice-Colonel (?Mekap Ikut), the Turkish ship's captain, said. Our visit and the activities performed enable us to know each other and become closer. Under these conditions, we will always be the support of your country. It is our pleasure to inform you that the Albanian officers, as they embark to cooperate with other NATO ships, will come to cooperate on our warships too.

High-ranking Defense Ministry officers participated in this friendly and warm meeting. Colonel Denis Yegishilmak, Turkish military attache in our country, was also present.

Vice Colonel (?Mekap Ikut), commander of the Destroyer Yucetepe of the Turkish Navy, and the crew of the command forces were guests at the Tirana Municipality at noon today.

Italian Ambassador Meets Pelican Operation Staff

AU0204175493 Tirana ATA in English 0823 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—The Ambassador Paolo Foresti paid a visit to Durres where he met with senior authorities of the city. The talks focused on the very good relations of friendship and cooperation and other special relations linking the city of Durres with Italy, the Italian Embassy in Tirana reports.

Later, the Italian Ambassador Foresti made his first official visit to the Pelican contingent, where he was received by the commander of this operation, General Antonio Tobaldo, and to the 22nd maritime group, where he was received by the captain of the frigate, Paskuale Balice. He expressed his gratefulness to the Italian Government and people for the engagement, devotion, and efficiency shown during the realization of their humanitarian mission in favour of the Albanian people.

The Italian ambassador expressed the desire that, after the phase of emergency, Pelican operation be turned into a mission of technical assistance in order to further contribute to the cooperation between Italy and Albania.

Commanders Tobaldo and Balice informed of the activities conducted until now in the context of Pelican operation, which has rendered an extraordinary contribution to the saving the life of many people.

As a whole, Pelican operation has transported 317,064 tons of various goods, of which 150,698 tons are Italian, 142,683 tons of the European Community, and 23,683 tons of other goods. Helicopters have also conducted 1,619 hours of flights, carrying out 173,760 medical interventions and 145 ships have been unloaded, carrying out 446 days of work.

Media Warn of Increase in Tension in Kosova

AU0204114393 Tirana ATA in English 0831 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—Mass media is increasingly alarmed recently, warning of a dangerous intensification of the military tension in Kosova. They are following the tense situations created in Kosova after the visit the Serbian minister of defence Marko Negovanovic in the Serbian troops deployed there. It is not difficult to find out the motives of this intensification of tension in Kosova. The Serbian assembly is clamourously claiming of "the right" of Serbia to expel the Albanians from their century long territories. In the speech made on March 18 in the Serbian Assembly, the Premier Nikola Sainovic warned of "energetic actions" to be taken in Kosova. The other deputy, Dragan Malovic went even further, demanding the immediate start of these energetic actions.

The military occupation and the fierce police repression exerted for years against the Albanians has not yielded the desired results with regard to the realisation of the "historical task" of the Serbian chauvinists. The intensive energies of the Serbian propaganda to "prove the legitimacy" of the expulsion of the Albanians through falsifying the historic facts have not been able to deceive the international opinion. In such circumstances, the regime of Milosevic considers as an indispensibility the adoption of "energetic measures" to expel the Albanians by the force of arms and to realise in this way their dream of creating the big Serbia.

But the involvement of tanks and the threefolding of the police forces, as the criminel Deputy Zhelko Raznjatovic demanded, are not signs of strength but signs of weakness, they are an expression of the dissatisfaction and stubbornness of those who do not want to consider the situations as they are and to accept the reality. The question of Kosova is growingly being affirmed and international opinion is becoming ever more sensitive. Recently, a new draft resolution was presented to the U.S. Congress demanding an end to the Serbian repression in Kosova. Its authors, the Congressmen Angel, Bonier and Molima [names as received] ask the U.S. Administration to use all the necessary means to stop the Serbian ethnic cleansing among the Albanians and to return the latter their civic human and national rights.

Cabinet Approves Economic Industry Communities

AU0304194793 Tirana ATA in English 0837 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 3 (ATA)—Decentralization of the socialist economy started with the dissolution of the former agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, the privatization of trade units, transportation, special branches of production, such as in the light industry and handicraft, construction, etc. So far, the nucleus of new Albanian businessmen and traders has been created. Almost all their activity is linked with the trade field and a small percentage with investments. The lack of a bank for private traders and some shortcomings in the legislation have forced these new Albanian capitalists to keep the money in pockets not circulating them for investments.

The private sector of the economy, through difficulties, is competing with the state one. Soon, this rivalry is envisaged to be extended in that of production. The first signs are the tendencies to increase export, which until late was only a monopoly of state. With the aim of changing the situation in export, the Council of Ministers, through a special decision adopted some time ago, tried to favour the private traders to increase export by paying the customs' taxes, which are relatively high for goods greatly wanted also in the home market.

During this period, many branches of industrial economy have been paralysed, some of it owing to old technology of production, some other for the lack of raw material or the temporary lack of the selling markets.

The Council of Ministers adopted some days ago the creation of some economic communities of special branches of industry. This is the first step after so many years Albania is making towards capitalism in a such an important economic sector, as industry. At the same time it may be considered as the first step towards privatization of these branches of industry. According to the decision, the Oil Corporation Albetrol, Copper Corporation Albkrom, copper one, Albaker, that of geology Gjeoalba, Electroenergy Kesh have been formed.

Creation of these economic communities in such branches of industry which exploit the natural assets is conditioned by the control of the state on them, as owner of these assets. For this decision, the experience of other more developed countries has been taken into consideration, exploitation of such assets in these countries is organized in the form of great groupings. The state continues to be the main controller of these assets, because it wants to have under its control the administration and utilization of these assets, which have been exploited without criterion so far. The state aims to provide with modern technology these branches of industry and the infrastructure in the future.

Two phenomena are actually noticed. The first is that the state is still seeking to keep its control over these branches of the economy, and second, the working people want to administrate the productions in these sectors. They want a full privatization of these branches and at the same time to be independent from the state.

Deputies Continue Town Planning Bill Discusion

AU0204185993 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—The People's Assembly continued proceedings yesterday before noon discussing articles of the draft law on town planning. This session only examined Article 12. Regarding the last section of Article 13, which deals with the appointment of the person responsible for the section of town planning in the district, there were many objections among the deputies. A part of them supported the variant presented in the draft law that that person be appointed by the minister of construction, whereas the rest said this runs counter to the Law on the Local Government. The Democratic Party parliamentary group demanded a break to discuss this section. After the break, the session failed to continue because it lacked the necessary number of deputies.

Government Asked To Explain Polluted Gas

AU0504084293 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 24 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Plator Nesturi: "Polluted Gas—Government's Gift To Ensure Heating During Winter"]

[Text] The terror of last winter rightly forced the government to set up an extraordinary government commission headed by Deputy Prime Minister Bashkim Kopliku to resolve the problem of heating and lighting. As a matter of fact, there were results. Despite the shortages, the winter we have just experienced cannot be compared with the previous one.

To ensure heating for this country, chilled to the bone from the increase in prices and the cost of social assistance, Mr. Kopliku signed a contract during a visit to Italy for a number of gas-fired stoves for Albania. The number of stoves was considerable. Some 11,000 stoves arrived, accompanied by an Italian businessman named Giovanni Xaci. Naturally, their arrival was acclaimed on television, which was careful to warn consumers that it was essential that installation be done by specialist technicians "as otherwise there might be consequences." At that time we were not to know that the "consequences" did not lie in whether a technician was present on not. Without delay, the Construction Ministry began to distribute the stoves. First they were installed in creches, kindergartens, and schools, and the rest were distributed to former political prisoners. Up to this point everything seemed to be in order. The government was meeting its responsibility toward children, the country's future, and those who suffered the most during the years of dictatorship. There should certainly have been gratitude for the government team that thinks about the lives of its own citizens. However, one thing was forgotten: the inspection of the gas tanks, as was discovered by the Hygiene and Epidemiology Directorate. As we were informed, the tests showed that the gas in the tanks is unsuitable for public places and that it is much more polluted than normal.

Though these tests were carried out a long time ago, unlike the initial fuss surrounding their arrival, no announcement has been issued about the result of the tests. The question is whether the news of the poilution is not being given so as not to cast aspersions on the sense of responsibility of the government members or whether there is something else behind this gas that contains too much toxicity. Asked about the problem, Deputy Construction Minister Arben Demiri accepted the fact that the stoves were distributed by the Construction Ministry and that he was aware of the polluted gas. However, he interrupted the conversation to say: "Go and ask the Foreign Ministry about this?!," refusing to give further details.

The involvement of the Foreign Ministry makes the problem more enigmatic. That is because it is considered that the stoves' polluted gas cannot be a cause to break relations with Italy. Moreover, if the stoves represent so significant an aspect in relations, the government could keep them in the corner of some storehouse or use them itself but not distribute them to the public. The fact that the deputy minister was informed about the polluted gas and the news was not published by the media shows that someone is preventing this. Who is that person and what post does he hold in the state hierarchy? We still do not know this. What we do know is that the polluted gas has been used by children and former political prisoners. That is why the answer should be directed at them....

Berov Inspects Rural Areas, Briefed on Reform

AU0204203093 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—[passage omitted]. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov spoke about the difficulties with land restitution, the problems overcome by the cabinet in the drafting of the budget, the demographic crisis and widespread crime at his meetings in the village of Korten and the town of Nova Zagora in southern Bulgaria today.

Sofia's Mayor Aleksandur Yanchulev informed municipal councillors about construction of Sofia's underground. The Council of Ministers yesterday approved the allocation of 400 million leva for its construction in 1993 but the Finance Ministry can release 150 million leva against a mortgage on municipal property only, said Yanchulev. The councillors took no decision today because no specific proposals were made, though construction will be suspended unless money is allocated until April 8. The municipal councillors also discussed ways to increase the efficiency of Sofia's central heating and thermal power stations. Greater Sofia municipality invited tenders for the improvement of the heating installations in 300 public buildings through regulation of thermal power. [passage omitted]

Adem Kenan, leader of an as yet unregistered Turkish Democratic Party in Bulgaria, will shortly make a ten-day tour of Turkish cities, members of the party's leadership told the press today. Adem Kenan will give lectures on the problems of Bulgarian Turks and on his party's goals. [passage omitted]

On Monday pig-breeders from Ruse will go on a hunger strike on the square in front of the presidency and the Sofia mayor has already been informed of this, representatives of the strike committee of the Ruse pig-breeders and of the regional Podkrepa Trade Union told journalists today. "We want the government and parliament to state explicitly whether they intend to liquidate or save pig-breeding," the Ruse pig-breeders said at a press conference. According to them, the institutions are evading responsibility and forcing them to take decisions to decrease the number of animals on their own. Yesterday's statements by Deputy Agricultural Ministers Yuri Pavlov and Rumen Khristov that the government has decided for the debts of the pig-breeding enterprises to be taken over by the state and that this decision would be moved in parliament, were an April 1 joke. By Monday the protesting pig- breeders will probably reconsider their demands. They fear that if the banks take over the debts of the pig-breeding farms against participation in privatization they may later decide to liquidate the enterprises in order to get their money back. Two days ago pig- breeders from all parts of the country protested in Sofia in front of parliament and handed a letter to the president, the government and the leadership of parliament.

A Bulgaria-Greek Chamber of Industry and Commerce was founded here today. According to its statutes, it is a voluntary, independent, non-political and non-economic organization. The aim of its founders is to promote economic, trade, sci-technical, agricultural, tourist, information and cultural contacts between Bulgaria and Greece. The chamber will organize exhibitions of industrial and agricultural goods of both countries. It will publish a bulletin on economic cooperation and provide consultations on the commercial laws, norms and rules of trade between Bulgaria and Greece, as well as on customs and foreign trade regulations. [passage omitted].

Zhelev Inspects Peasant Situation in Pazardzhik

AU0304152093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Report by Sonya Karova]

[Text] President Zhelev visited the Pazardzhik area today. He discussed the progress of agrarian reform, the process of land restitution, and the work of the liquidation councils and land distribution commissions during his meetings with villagers from Slavovitsa, Yoakhim Gruevo, and the town of Stamboliyski.

In addressing the people of Slavovitsa, which is the native village of the late Agrarian Party leader Aleksandur Stambolyiski, Dr. Zhelev pointed out that ideas that are now assuming topical importance are closely linked to the name of the Agrarian leader. The question concerns private property and true cooperative spirit based on genuine land ownership. In his address the president further stated:

[Begin Zhelev recording] The land is Bulgaria's major national asset and it cannot remain excluded from the sphere of the market economy. As long as we do not restore the land to the people, as long as the land has not become their private property which they should be free to use according to their own wish in the manner they consider the most appropriate, either by privately cultivating it or by joining some kind of association or cooperative, or even by leasing it or donating it to others—as long as we do not give them this opportunity—we shall never be able to introduce real market economy in our country. [end recording]

The peasants of Slavovitsa expressed their concern that the land restitution process has been delayed in their village, and that they are willing to work in associations or cooperatives.

Unlike in Slavovitsa village, in Stamboliyski the president was informed that the local land distribution commission was the first in the country to announce a total land distribution plan and has started to restore the land to its former owners within the original borders. Nine of the 14 existing plots have already been restored to the local farmers.

President Zhelev also met with residents of the Yoakhim Gruevo Village.

Berov Blames Metodi Spasov for Church Rift

AU0204203393 Sofia BTA in English 1449 GMT 2 Apr 92

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—Minister of the Interior Viktor Mikhaylov spoke about the reorganization going on in Sofia's units of the Interior Ministry. Answering a question by an M.P., he said the 12 regional offices of Sofia's Directorate of the Interior would be cut down to six and 21 police stations would be set up. This is the first step towards ensuring public order and security. The reforms will bring the police closer to the people, enabling them to react more quickly. Viktor Mikhaylov said the district constable, a new figure in the service, would play an important role. He promised no one would be dismissed from the Sofia Directorate.

The responsibility for the scandalous rift in the Bulgarian Church lies mainly with Metodi Spasov, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said today about the former Chief of the Directorate for Religious Faiths with the Council of Ministers, dismissed by the cabinet a week ago. Spasov was against Patriarch Maksim, appointed in the years of the communist regime, and supported the radically-minded clergyman Khristofor Subev (of the Union of Democratic Forces) in the struggle for supremacy in the Holy Synod.

The prime minister said the directorate's archives were being examined. They contain documents on matters which are not within the competence of a director for religious faiths, the prime minister said. It was found that Spasov had issued legally invalid orders, said Prof. Berov.

Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Evgeni Matinchev, who is also deputy prime minister in charge of contacts with the trade unions, objected to recent attacks that the cabinet had given preference to the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB) and Podkrepa over all other trade unions. Answering a question by an M.P. of the Union of Democratic Forces, Matinchev said that under the Labor Code the state maintains contacts "only with the really representative trade unions." According to Matinchev, three trade unions applied for participation in the Tripartite Council: KNSB, Podkrepa and Edinstvo. Upon examination, it was found the first two met the requirement for national representativeness and were admitted to the council. Edinstvo's documents are still being examined. If other trade unions meet the requirement, they should apply for membership in the Tripartite Council, Matinchev said.

Asked about the measures taken by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs to reduce unemployment among young people, Matinchev said a special programme was being drawn up. 46 Per cent of unemployed are under 30, according to statistics of the Committee for Youth and Sports released earlier this week. Evgeni Matinchev said the drafting of a programme targeted on youth started last October on the initiative of the previous minister. The programme includes training and retraining courses, assistance to those willing to start a private business, allocation of funds for job creation. The Ministry of Labor will discuss the programme in April and will coordinate it with the Finance Ministry. In the second half of April it will be submitted to the Council of Ministers which has to take a decision about its financing. According to estimates, it will take about 8,500 million leva to implement the programme. About 30,000 unemployed young people will take part in its experimental implementation.

Interior Minister Denies Tapping Telephones

AU0204173593 Sofia BTA in English 1234 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—Today's parliamentary day for control over the government began with a closed sitting at which Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov presented a report. He answered the question posed by M.P. Verzhinia Velcheva of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) who wanted to know if the members of the National Assembly were wiretapped and, if so, who had ordered it.

The minister's answer was negative. Miss Velcheva told a BTA reporter after the short closed sitting. According to the SDS Parliamentary Group, there was not even a trace of any state secrets in Mr. Mikhaylov's answer, she added describing the closed sitting as "a mockery of parliament" and "clownery."

The interior minister said there were no data of any M.P.'s [members of parliament] being wiretapped or spied on. Gospodin Atanasov of the recently established New Union for Democracy Parliamentary Group (formed after some M.P.'s split from the SDS), told the BTA reporter. In his opinion, the sitting had to be closed because the interior minister had explained the wiretapping and spying mechanisms.

Mr. Atanasov expressed his concern over the fact that such actions that concern people's rights and freedoms should be undertaken on the strength of intradepartmental instructions as there are no legal instruments to regulate them. That is why the interior minister's reply did not give me any assurance that similar violations had never been committed at the Ministry of the Interior, he said.

Later on, at the plenary sitting of parliament, M.P. Stefan Karadzhov of the new Union for Democracy asked Mr. Mikhaylov if an order had been issued to check the allegations of wiretapping and spying on M.P.'s, political leaders and citizens without them being reported to have committed some crime.

A check is being carried out at the moment at the Prosecutor's Office request, we are investigating the allegations made by National Investigation Service

Director Ani Kruleva and will inform the Prosecutor's Office about the results by the end of next week, Minister Mikhaylov said. A month ago Mrs. Kruleva accused in parliament one of the ministers in Filip Dimitrov's cabinet and Filip Dimitrov himself of interfering in the work of the judiciary.

Some things have been found in the archives of the Interior Ministry that answer the question in the affirmative. Minister Mikhaylov said replying a question asked by the same M.P. who wanted to know if some cases of interference in the work of the judiciary had been established over the last two years.

Mr. Mikhaylov promised to present all materials the M.P.'s would like to see to the recently appointed parliamentary commission of enquiry which is investigating the cases of possible intervention by the executive branch in the work of the judiciary.

Russian Defense Minister Grachev Visits

LD0204222893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Video report by correspondent V. Loyter from Archangel; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] All the leaders and military ministers of the post-war period of the former Soviet Union have visited Severodvinsk in its more than 50-year history. Today was the first visit by General of the Army Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defense. The defense minister's visit continues a conversation begun last year by President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin on setting up a nuclear center for Russian submarine building at Severodvinsk. But so far there are still plenty of problems.

[Begin Grachev recording] I think that I can make it very obvious after my trip that financing, particularly of ship repairs, but of construction as well, has to be increased if we want a strong Navy. The inhabitants of Severodvinsk can expect big orders for new types of warships and submarines. [end recording]

Mikhaylov Admits Tapping of Lukanov's Phone

AU0304151593 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—Today's parliamentary day for control over the government began with a closed sitting at which Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov presented a report. He answered the question posed by M.P. Verzhinia Velcheva of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) who wanted to know if the members of the National Assembly were wiretapped and, if so, who had ordered it. [passage omitted].

At parliament's closed sitting today Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov admitted only one case of wiretapping of an M.P. Socialist M.P. and ex-Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov was wiretapped three days before his arrest. The wiretapping was carried out on the order of former Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov and at the request of Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev, the Bulgarian national television reported today citing M.P.'s.

Karabashev Returns From Visit to Austria

AU0204190093 Sofia BTA in English 1502 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—The state of Bulgaria's economy, investment opportunities, privatization and Bulgarian-Austrian economic relations were the subjects of a report made by Deputy Prime Minister and Trade Minister Valentin Karabashev before businessmen in Vienna. Karabashev today returned from his visit at the invitation of the Austrian Chamber of Industry.

Representatives of 230 companies showed serious interest in Bulgaria. Some of them are already working with this country, others would like to cooperate with it, Karabashev told the press. Bulgaria's prestige should be boosted because comparatively little is known about it, he said. Austrian businessmen are interested above all in the tobacco and food industry, trade and tourism.

Valentin Karabashev has invited representatives of the influential Chamber of Industry to Bulgaria.

Interview With Deputy Prime Minister Neev

AU0404194093 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 26 Mar 93 p 10

[Text] [Kostov] Along with being deputy prime minister and minister of transport, you have now become chief of the Committee on Power Supply. Is it difficult to wear three hats?

[Neev] No. I will be in charge of the committee only for one month, so the third hat is a temporary one.

However, during this period we will have to develop a concept for the structural development of the energy industry. This is an exceptionally important sector, so it will be vitally important to coordinate the views of all the experts. It will be out of the question to adopt biased final decisions or to determine that only one view is the authoritative one.

A month ago I suggested that the Council of Ministers should announce a consultative period in which to hear all sides. We will hold these consultations until the end of April. They are very important for decreasing the tension between both the experts and the trade unions. Meetings with the trade unions are important because the power industry is an issue of social importance and no changes can be made without their consent.

It is better for all parties to commit themselves to a common solution than to follow a single view, even if it is a brilliant one.

[Kostov] Whom will you consult besides the trade unions?

[Neev] We will consult all the institutions that have an interest in the energy industry: ministries, agencies, and committees. I intend to propose two programs for developing the sector: A short-term one until the year 2000 and a long-term one to 2010.

[Kostov] What will these programs contain?

[Neev] Details of energy prices and the future of the industry's employees. The system has a swollen payroll and many old plants. Because of the disparity between commercial prices and the real production costs, the industry is operating at a loss. It has no money for spare parts.

[Kostov] In this situation, will prices rise gradually, or will there be a sharp increase in May this year?

[Neev] It is best to fix a deadline for energy prices to reach their real value. This will probably happen at the beginning of May. Gradual rises in prices will cause most companies to have speculative ideas. They follow the practice of including the maximum rises in electric power prices in their costs even before the rises take effect.

[Kostov] Has a mechanism been developed to compensate for the impoverishment that the new prices will cause?

[Neev] Yes, the government has a mechanism for compensating the incomes of the population, and it will come into effect immediately when the electricity prices are raised.

A further point is that the gloomy forecasts of certain experts of an increase in inflation following the introduction of the new fuel prices have not happened.

In changing the electricity prices, we will seek a real level of consumption. We must find possibilities to save power. At the moment domestic customers use 35 percent of the total amount of electricity consumed. This shows that electricity is one of the cheapest forms of energy. The situation varies in different parts of the world. When the new prices come into force, I expect that consumption will drop by about 1,000 megawatts.

At the moment there is no correlation between the decline in production and electricity consumption. The low prices allow nonprofitable companies that use a lot of electric power to look as if they are making profits. This distorts the economy and, what is worse, causes a drain on our national income. With our economy in its present state, we cannot permit ourselves this luxury.

The increase in electricity prices in Poland and Hungary showed that such a step helps to regulate consumption to within the real limits.

[Kostov] The trade unionists in the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] have declared that in dismissing Lyulin Radulov [former chairman of Committee for Power Supply], the cabinet carried out the instructions of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. Are you [chairman of PODKREPA] Dr. Trenchev's man?

[Neev] You guessed wrong. I am a minister, and this means I am not anyone's man. The situation that developed in the energy industry caused tension among the trade unions too. I am sure that emotions will subside when we have completed our talks.

The truth is that Lyulin Radulov was not dismissed. The government invited him to stay in the system, but he declared that he could not work with the new team and tendered his resignation. Radulov had every chance to keep his job if the experts accepted his concept. However, he preferred to withdraw of his own volition.

The cabinet does not aim to change personnel but to optimize the industry. However, one does not exclude the other in cases where someone proves that he cannot cope with his job.

The cabinet decided to elucidate the future of the energy industry and its structure. It is possible that the present committee may become a ministry, or it may keep its present status.

[Kostov] Much has been said for and against building a new nuclear power plant. Will Bulgaria continue to develop its nuclear energy industry?

[Neev] This will in fact be discussed next month. It is extremely sad, and indeed absurd, when an important problem like the nuclear energy industry is enmeshed in the nets of political squabbles. Alternatives to developing nuclear power plants exist, but everything must be carefully discussed and the best solution chosen. One thing is certain: During the next 2-3 years the second nuclear plant will not be built at Belene, because no money is available.

I intend to propose building two new gas-fired thermoelectric power plants within two years, which will compensate for any breakdowns in the 1,000-megawatt reactors at Kozloduy. One of them will be built in Silistra, with a capacity of 960 megawatts, and the second in Yambol, with an output of 100 megawatts. We will try to finance their construction with private capital. Supplies of gas from the former USSR will enable the plants to operate normally.

In addition, we should not delay any longer in the building of electric power lines to connect us to Macedonia. We have a good scheme for day-to-day operations under which we export temporary surpluses of electricity to Greece and Macedonia and import power when we have shortages. We must also define our price relations with Turkey in the energy field.

[Kostov] Is electricity rationing possible?

[Neev] No, unless a serious breakdown occurs at Kozloduy. With the energy system in its present state, the current will continue to flow until the year 2000, unless problems of an objective nature are created.

Presidential Adviser on National Security

AU0204194993 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 26 Mar 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with General Stoyan Andreev, military adviser to President Zhelev on national security questions, by Penka Lazarova; place and date not given: "In Case of a Future Balkan War, We Shall Rely on Our Army and Our People"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lazarova] In view of the currently disintegrating state stuctures, missing legislation, and lack of a military doctrine, are there any reliable factors for the protection of our national security?

[Andreev] First, I am convinced that the structures on which our national security is based—namely, the Army, police, intelligence and counterintelligence services, courts of justice, investigation departments, and arms industry—are not disintegrating, although they have been thoroughly restructured from both the qualitative and quantitative point of view. Nevertheless, I cannot remain silent about the great problems caused by the current low wages, the deterioration of technical equipment, and a certain confusion among the people caused by the recent social upheavals. The changes in our lives are dangerously rushing forward, while their theoretical explanations and practical solutions on an appropriate legislative basis are lagging behind. In this case, the political disputes prevented us from adopting the urgently needed legislative documents that are required for guaranteeing our national security. [passage omitted]

[Lazarova] Were we mistaken in giving priority to foreign policy factors rather than military strength in connection with ensuring the integrity of our state?

[Andreev] I do not think that we were mistaken. We simply had no other means of overcoming the difficult situation and we could not fail to conform with the principles of building the all-European security system, even though it is still weak and ineffective. Nevertheless, we by no means rely solely on diplomatic and political methods of guaranteeing our security. Outstanding specialists and ardent patriots who are devoted to their motherland in the spirit of our centuries-old national traditions are serving in our Army and in the special organs. Our Army's technical equipment remains unchanged. The level of training and the cohesion of the branches of service under the command of the General Staff is perfect. Hence, as a state, we are in a position of resisting any military provocation against Bulgaria's territorial integrity.

[Lazarova] What are you relying upon in case our neighbors become superior to us regarding the size of their armies and their military equipment, in case their superiority becomes tenfold, for example?

[Andreev] Numerical superiority, especially if it is accompanied by higher qualitative assets, can be depressing indeed. Military theoreticians are quite justified in saying that arms are fighting, even if they do not fire—meaning that their psychological effect is tremendous. Nevertheless, I am convinced that many new circumstances should be taken into consideration in this respect, namely in the evaluation of a purely military danger, which are usually disregarded. In the first place, we are not threatened by total aggression from all directions, for the time being. In the second place, our southern neighbors are NATO members and they would not take any military actions against anyone without the Atlantic organization's preliminary consensus. Third, the level of military confrontation between Bulgaria and Turkey, as well as between Bulgaria and Greece, is constantly being lowered thanks to the increase of military confidence measures that strongly support our national security. Our Army's General Staff, headed by Army General Petrov, is actively and efficiently contributing to this fact. This is particularly important for us today when a war of unprecedented violence is waged at Bulgaria's western borders, a war that is likely to escalate beyond control. We should be ready to defend our national intersts. As you can see, the purely quantitative approach to the evaluation of military danger is inadquate.

[Lazarova] Will we be surprised if a Balkan war should break out, and whom should we rely upon for support?

[Andreev] I think that surprise is unlikely. We shall rely on our Army and on our people. However, I think that in view of our state leadership's current foreign policy, which enjoys the support of NATO, the United States, Russia, and the European states and organizations, we can rely on their support as well.

[Lazarova] Can you estimate the approximate amount required for the complete rearmament of the Army and police forces?

[Andreev] It is unrealistic to talk about a full rearmament of our Army and police forces for the time being. It would require several hundred billions of leva. However, maintaining the operational readiness of our Armed Forces at a minimum level requires approximately 20 billion leva for the 1993 period. I am confident that parliament, the government, and our people are willing to grant them.

Three Soldiers Killed in Attack in Cambodia

AU0304170793 Sofia BTA in English 1634 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA)—The Third Infantry Platoon of the Fourth Company of the Bulgarian battalion in Cambodia was attacked on Friday at 1135 PM local time, the Bulgarian Defence Ministry said today.

Six Bulgarian UN peacekeepers were wounded in the attack. Three died, two were critically wounded and were

taken to the Royal Hospital in Thailand, and one lightly wounded soldier is in the German field hospital in Phnom Penh.

The attack was repulsed as the other platoons reinforced the position. The battalion commanders and the UN transitional authority in Cambodia are investigating the incident. The victims' families have been informed of it.

The attack was the most serious yet against the peacekeepers since the United Nations began its ambitious Cambodian operation in March 1992, a UN spokesman said.

The official said Khmer Rouge guerrillas were suspected of being responsible for the attack. The Bulgarian position came under mortar and smallarms fire at the village of Phum Preak, 70 km south-west from Phnom Penh in Kompong Speu province. UN spokesman Eric Falt said. The Bulgarian unit asked for medical evacuation by helicopter but the three soldiers died before it arrived. The wounds were caused by shell splinters and bullets, the spokesman said.

The Bulgarian position was manned by 20 soldiers who came under attack for one hour followed by another assault lasting three hours shortly after 2 AM, Falt said. Additional Bulgarian soldiers were called in to reinforce the position. The platoon suffered no further casualties during the second attack.

Asked why he thought the attackers were Khmer Rouge, Falt said: "According to their pattern of activity in the area, it seems to be Khmer Rouge."

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev today cabled his condolences to the bereaved families. "They died like real soldiers, defending the position of the Bulgarian peacekeepers," President Zhelev says. "Your relatives died while performing the United Nation's noble peacekeeping mission in Cambodia. They sacrificed their lives for a noble cause: to stop the war and spare that distant, politically unstable country casualties," the telegram says.

President Zhelev recalls that Bulgaria committed troops to the UN peacekeeping force to contribute to the peace effort in the world. "Because we believe it is inadmissible to fight wars and kill people for their political and religious convictions or ethnic identity on the threshold of the 21st century," says Dr. Zhelev says.

Foreign Ministry Explains Ban on Religious Sect

AU0304154493 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—On March 23, 1993 the Consular Department of the Bulgarian Embassy in Stockholm received applications for entry visas from a group of over 100 representatives of the Word for Life religious sect headed by Mr. Ulf Ekman [name as received], the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told BTA.

Last year the Word for Life religious sect carried out religious work in Bulgaria without the necessary registration and license, as required by Bulgaria's legislation. The activities of this sect last year provoked numerous protests on the part of state and public organizations, individual citizens and religious communities.

After consulting the competent state authorities, the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry refused to issue entry visas to representatives of this sect wishing to visit Bulgaria with the purpose of carrying out religious activities. Though the Swedish citizens were informed in Stockholm that they had been denied entry to Bulgaria, they arrived in Sofia in violation of the Bulgarian laws and international practice, an act which cannot be interpreted otherwise but as a challenge to the Bulgarian state. The refusal to grant these people entry into Bulgaria is based solely on the operative Bulgarian legislation, the norms of International Law in the field of movement across the borders and is motivated by the wish to protect the human rights of the citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria, the announcement of the Foreign Ministry reads.

Business Party Opens Congress, Changes Name

AU0304180793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] The Bulgarian Business Party is continuing its third congress in the Park Hotel Moskva in Sofia. Stefan Nikolov, the party's deputy chairman, delivered a report. The liberal conservative idea that the party's members should find political supporters in all sections of society was mooted. The party's philosophy implies individual freedom in combination with a strong state institution. For this reason, the contacts between the private and state sectors should promote organized actions to encourage free private initiative and ensure that the state institutions work for Bulgaria's economic prosperity. Contacts in this direction continue with all political parties and movements.

The congress decided that the Bulgarian Business Party should change its name to the New Bulgaria Party [Partiya Nova Bulgariya].

Greetings messages were delivered to the congress on behalf of the president of the Republic, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Alternative Social Liberal Party, Constitutional Forum, Christian Women's Movement, Rakovski Officers Legion, and other parties and organizations.

Our reporter Emiliya Venkova continues to follow the proceedings of the congress.

Program To Handle Rising Drug Abuse Proposed

AU0204180093 Sofia BTA in English 2043 GMT 1 Apr 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 1 (BTA)—The military receive a portion of the amount of overflight fees paid by foreign aircraft in compliance with the international documents on civil aviation, and the funds are definitely not used to meet the needs of the Defence Ministry, representatives

of the Bulgarian Air Force told a press conference today. It was underlined that this was the opinion of the leadership of the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army. The press conference was prompted by the one-hour-long strike actions which air traffic controllers began yesterday. According to the air traffic controllers, the decision of the previous cabinet, entitling the Ministry of Defence to 50 percent of the total amount of air navigation fees, is unfounded.

About 80 percent of all the employees at the regional air traffic control centre in Varna (eastern Bulgaria) joined the warning strike actions of their colleagues in Sofia.

The World Bank will grant about 11 million dollars for the construction of a drinking-water treatment plant in Sliven, the BTA local correspondent learned from the mayor of Sliven, Nasko Atanasov, after his talks with a group of experts.

A two-day international business meeting on "Cooperation Among Cooperatives in Eastern and Central Europe" opened in Sofia today. It is organized by the International Cooperative Alliance and attended by representatives of 17 countries.

The new farmer cooperatives should not oppose land management by individual farmers because both forms will take hold in the Bulgarian agriculture, Prof. Todor Pandov, president of the Bulgarian Confederation of Agriculture, told journalists today. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov defended a similar thesis in last night's interview on the national television. [passage omitted]

At its forthcoming third regular congress, the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Business Party will assume the name of New Bulgaria Party. The major purpose of the organization is to protect the interests of entrepreneurs, Deputy Chairman Stefan Nikolov told a press conference today.

The Federation of Student Clubs with the Constitutional Forum Civil Movement, founded on March 27, 1993, has set itself the task to organize egalitarian clubs propagating the ideas of liberalism and conservatism, to revive the national traditions and to defend the interests of academic youth. "We adhere to the principles of liberalism and we are for a strong presidency and a republican form of government," the federation's chairman, Ivaylo Stankov, said at his first press conference today.

Representatives of the Federation of Student Clubs with the Constitutional Forum Civil Movement had a meeting with President Zhelyu Zhelev. They expressed their concern over the inflow of foreign religious sects in Bulgaria and over students' alienation from the political processes in the country.

The veterinary services have established cases of swine pest in three municipalities in the Shumen region (northern Bulgaria). This poses a threat to the pig-breeding farms there, which are among the biggest in Bulgaria. As the animals are undernourished, they are more susceptible to the disease. [passage omitted]

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev received the representatives of Eurofin, a multinational company for consultancy and research based in London. Their investment offer is the construction of 10,000 flats in Sofia. [passage omitted]

The Bulgarian Telecommunications Company is expected to submit to the government its proposal for a rise in telephone charges as of May 1 this year: 27 percent for households and 36 percent for business subscribers. There will be a new tariff for trunk calls setting different charges for calls made in three different hour zones, the hour zones for international calls are two.

The strike declared by the Workers Free Trade Union at the Neftokhim Refinery in Burgas (eastern Bulgaria) is going on. However, the attempts of the few strikers to block the work of the refinery proved to be futile.

The measurements made by the laboratory of the regional inspectorate of the environment in Silistra after last night's pollution of the air by the metal works in Calarasi, Romania, show that the phenol content exceeds the acceptable concentration limit two-fold.

A team of experts of the clinic of the Higher Institute of Medicine in Sofia, which is the sole one treating drug addiction problems in Bulgaria, submitted a proposal to the Commission for Handling Citizens' Complaints with the Sofia City Council for the development of a drug control programme. The proposal is motivated by the growing number of drug abusers, the emergence of an underground narcotics market, and depriving the public from information. There are several tens of thousands drug users in Bulgaria, about 15,000 thousand of them being children and young people. According to data released by the police, some 7,000 doses of heroin are sold in Sofia every day. [passage omitted]

'Proof' of Air Pollution From Romania Offered

AU0304202193 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Silistra, April 3 (BTA)—There is indisputable scientific proof that air pollution in this Danubian city originates in the metallurgical works in the Romanian town of Calarasi. The results of parallel analyses by the National Centre for Hygiene, Medical Ecology, and Nutrition and the Electronics Institute with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences were presented at a meeting of the Silistra Municipal Council.

This is actually the first stage of a broader study of pollution in Silistra and its health effects, carried out by the National Centre for Hygiene under Prof. Bozhidar Nikiforov. Studies by the Electronics Institute give even more conclusive proof of transboundary pollution. Sulphur and nitrogen dioxide come from local polluters.

says the National Centre for Hygiene. Hydrogen sulphide, phenol and metal aerosols come from the metallurgical works in Calarasi, Romania, experts say. The maximum hydrogen sulphide content of the air in 1991 exceeded Bulgarian standards between 6.6 and 10.3 times at the two monitoring posts. In November and December 1991 phenol exceeded them between 1.5 and 4 times, and up to 8 times between 1 and 3 AM.

As a result, the incidence of respiratory diseases in the urban population is 5 percent higher than the country average. Acute respiratory diseases have increased 120 percent.

Party Leader Manolov Asks for Help for Gypsies

AU0204183193 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 29 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Manush Romanov, chairman of the Roma Democratic Union, by Anita Nikolaeva; place and date not given: "There Are Time Bombs Placed in the Ghettos"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Nikolaeva] Mr. Romanov, you formed the Roma Democratic Union in 1989. What are the party's goals? Is it true that it was formed as a challenge to society?

[Romanov] The Roma Democratic Union was formed with the aim of counteracting the strange—to put it mildly—policy toward ethnic minorities that also found expression in the revival process [1984-85 campaign to forcibly change Muslims' names]. The reasons for forming our organization included the discrimination against the Gypsies, the failure to regard them seriously, the need to change this state of affairs, and the requirement to preserve the Gypsy race. It is our ambition to raise the status of the Gypsies in the political, socioeconomic, educational, and cultural aspects. Very many changes are needed in the Gypsies' life.

[Nikolaeva] These are extremely serious but long-term intentions. What are the most urgent problems presently facing the Gypsies?

[Romanov] First and foremost, galloping unemployment: 80-90 percent of Gypsies are without jobs, and in many places the figure is 100 percent! I believe that there have never been so many unemployed Gypsies in Bulgaria as there are now.

One of the reasons is that the vast majority of them are illiterate unskilled workers, which is a legacy from the totalitarian society. In the present situation, when well-trained capable specialists are without jobs, what is left for the Gypsies...? It is very often the case that both parents in a family are without work. Who will feed the children? In general, to discuss the social position of the Gypsies means to speak about a very grave situation. Take the ghettos in which they live. The elementary conditions there for existence are lacking. Two, three, and even four generations live in a single room, with no sanitary facilities at all, let alone hot water. Many children do not attend school. Their parents do not allow them because they cannot pay for them to go to school. Over 90 percent of Gypsies are socially disadvantaged. [passage omitted]

[Nikolaeva] Does this result in a vicious circle, where the parents are illiterate and without a trade and their children follow the same path?

[Romanov] Yes, this is what is so tragic. It perpetuates illiteracy and results from the state's bad policies toward the Gypsies. If the government is aware of what is happening at the moment, what is coming to pass in the Gypsy ghettos, then it will take measures to help the socially downtrodden because fruits are now being produced that will shock society! Even now the Gypsy population is linked with organized crime in the country. [passage omitted]

[Nikolaeva] It seems impossible to correct the situation that you describe.

[Romanov] I believe that a strategic social policy should be adopted to help the Gypsies with housing and not leave them to their own resources. We must work with them. Gypsies should be represented in different administrative and social structures. They know their own problems best of all, so why should they not be involved in solving them? It is necessary to work purposefully for many years to change the life of the Gypsies, to ensure they are successfully integrated into the life of a normal society.

[Nikolaeva] Are there any Gypsies who might participate in the mechanisms of state? Do they have their own intelligentsia?

[Romanov] Yes, they do, although they are few in number. However, these are the people who are now seeing ways to change the everyday life of the Gypsies and who are aware of the need for this change. In Bulgaria there may now be a dozen or so organizations—national or regional—that are dealing with such matters, and they are led by people of this kind. One very important issue, for example, is to provide the rural Gypsies with land. The abolition of the labor collective farms has in fact placed them in a vacuum. They have nowhere to earn their living and their criminal activities mainly has social roots. [passage omitted]

Baudys Says United States Willing To Cooperate

AU0404195193 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 93 pp 1, 13

[Report by Jiri Roskot: "The United States Wants To Discuss Military Cooperation"]

[Text] Brussels — According to Pentagon Deputy Chief W. Perry [title as published], the United States would welcome the establishment of a bilateral working team with the Czech Republic that would deal with military cooperation, including joint exercises and the modernization of the Czech Republic's army.

This is what ensued from Perry's meeting with the Czech Republic Defense Minister Baudys on Sunday [28 March] in Brussels.

The Czech Republic suggested that a NATO representative be installed in Prague. "We must rush," Baudys said. When asked by RUDE PRAVO what the reasons are for such haste, the minister said that "a development can often become unpredictable," and that his duty, and that of the government, is to accelerate all that is necessary to ensure the security of the Czech Republic.

"The American side appreciated the fact that the Czech Republic is prepared, in case of intervention, to discuss its participation in Yugoslavia—but not by military means, of course," Minister Baudys also said of his meeting with Perry.

The Visegrad Group

The Defense ministers of the Visegrad Group (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland) met informally for the first time in Brussels on Sunday. Rumors were heard that the Polish defense minister came up with the idea of issuing a joint declaration on relations with NATO. As he told RUDE PRAVO, Slovak Defense Minister Andrejcak also supported this proposal. Minister Baudys told RUDE PRAVO that he had no authorization to sign anything. He described creating a group within the NATO Council for Cooperation—who will meet on Monday [5 April]—as "putting the others at a disadvantage".

On Sunday, the Visegrad Group defense ministers agreed on the necessity of a certain institutionalization regarding their representation at the NATO Centre in Brussels. The next meeting should be in Rome in May, before the meeting of the Western European Union.

The Czech minister met with Field Marshal R. Vincent, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, on Saturday. The NATO official was interested in the Visegrad group.

Havel Issues Statement on Sudeten Germans

AU0204182593 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Statement by President Vaclav Havel at a news conference in Prague on 29 March: "Vaclav Havel on the Transfer of Sudeten Germans"]

[Text] We are building a new democratic state based on the rule of law; we are building a civic society. This state cannot be based on fallacy, lies, or prejudice, or these will catch up with us in a tragic way. What I am concerned about is our self-awareness, part of which is the ability to look one's own past in the face. The forceful transfer of millions of people based on a purely national principle, the principle of collective guilt, is a morally defective act. Approving of it is tantamount to indirectly approving of the forceful deportations of Jews, Tatars, Lithuanians, and other peoples from their homes, or to approving of the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. A civic society cannot be built on the approval of such dangerous nationalist acts. In the same way as national self-consciousness cannot be based on forged manuscripts, it can neither be based on any other national fallacy. What is more, it is necessary to admit far more unpleasant things about ourselves, for example that during the first republic we did not successfully resolve the problem of minorities; that Slovakia has not always been treated well; that our resistance fighters did not enjoy too great a public support, be it during the war or under communism (people rather eschewed them); that a great part of the public voted communist; that we tolerated the truth about the suffering of Jews being suppressed; that even during the war not many Czechs stood up for them; or that after the Munich diktat many Czechs and Czech organizations yielded to the most disgraceful forms of anti-Semitism. We are no worse than others, but we are not better either. Drawing attention to these unpopular matters is the president's duty, in my opinion. We are obliged to say the truth about ourselves above all for the sake of ourselves and our descendants. The transfer can surely be discussed with the Sudeten Germans at the appropriate level, but even more important is to discuss it without prejudice among ourselves. I have spoken about this on several occasions and always here, at home. I call attention to the German president's visit and my speech in Vladislav Hall. However, when I am asked abroad about my opinion, I give the same reply as I give at home because I am no schizophrenic to say something different abroad from what I say at home. Naturally, I did not go to Austria to discuss this issue, but at the same time I did not go there to dodge unpleasant questions [reference to Havel's statement during his visit to Vienna on 15 March that he considered the postwar expulsion of Sudeten Germans an act of injustice]. As a matter of fact, the moral condemnation of the transfer in my statements was always completely overshadowed by my explanations as to why we consider it a finished matter and irreversible from the legal point of view and why this moral judgment cannot imply any legal consequences.

I believe that I explained this more thoroughly than many of my domestic critics. The very poor standard of political culture in our country is testified to by the fact that my critics were criticizing my statements without knowing them. Even though, naturally, everything that I said was monitored by the Presidential Office from the first moment, no one called to request a copy of the statements. This shows that my critics are not concerned about facts but that their only aim is to stir up mud and to court popularity with those who find it difficult to come to terms with certain things that had been taboo for decades.

No government official or representative of the government coalition has let me know in our frequent meetings that he did not share my view of this matter. I therefore understand the statements by some opposition officials as an attempt to drive a wedge between myself and the government coalition. They cannot succeed in this, however. Let me say one more thing. I am not surprised that it is precisely the left wing that defends the transfer so militantly. It cherishes collectivism and now that the communist collectivism has collapsed it apparently needs as a substitute national collectivism dividing nations among the guilty and the innocent ones. Yet in the elections our citizens cast their votes for the idea of a civic society, in which everyone is individually responsible for his deeds. They cast their votes for parties that defend the inviolability of private property and all civic rights. However, to follow this path means, among other things, to be able to admit that we have not always been guided by these principles.

The transfer was an act carried out by a democratic government, an act that was confirmed by the victorious powers, an act that is legally valid and irreversible. We are now trying with difficulties to redress some wrongs caused by communism, but we cannot and will not redress the history that preceded it and thus commit new wrongs. That would be absurd. However, this absolutely unequivocal stand does not rid us of the duty to say in our own interest the full truth about our history, no matter how unpleasant and unpopular it may be, and to admit that even a democratic government was able to yield to the Stalinist way of thinking and thus help prepare the rise of Stalinism. This is a matter of our spiritual and moral health. The strength of our republic will not be in avoiding the truth but in the will to get to know it.

Havel, Kovac Differ on Use of Tourism Passports

AU0204175893 Prague CTK in English 1729 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 31 (CTK)— The Czech and Slovak presidents, Vaclav Havel and Michal Kovac, respectively, differ in views on what documents should be required from citizens travelling to the other country.

At a press conference in conclusion of Kovac's two-day official visit to Prague, Havel said he considered the question a technical and secondary one.

It is important for Slovak citizens to realize that the eventual requirement of passports in trips to the Czech Republic was not an expression of discrimination against them. It would be an administrative measure which cannot be seen as destined to prove that each country belongs in another part of the world, Havel pointed out.

Kovac thinks that the introduction of passports in contacts between the Czech and Slovak Republics would be embarrassing for those who do not have a passport and who would have to get one only to be able to travel to either republic.

Havel said that one of the reasons why the Czech Interior Ministry had proposed to introduce passports, instead of identity cards only, in relations between the two countries had been that no recordings of legal proceedings being taken against a person were made in identity cards.

Havel said that people against whom legal proceedings had been started, were not allowed to travel outside the Czech Republic.

Passports are seized to them and new are not issued.

It seems to me that the Slovaks have understood that the Czechs do not want by any means to complicate contacts between the two republics' citizens, Havel said.

Havel Receives Letter of Thanks From Yeltsin

LD0204163593 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 2 (CTK)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin highly appreciates the support expressed by Czech President Vaclav Havel for both political and economic reforms in Russia.

In a letter addressed to Havel, today delivered to the Czech president by the Russian Ambassador to the Czech Republic Aleksandr Lebedev, Yeltsin thanks Havel for the support and solidarity, he expressed in his letter to the Russian leader last week.

Havel considers such a prompt response by Yeltsin to be a sign of the rather warm relation between the two heads of state, Havel's spokesman Ladislav Spacek told CTK.

In his letter, Yeltsin also appreciates Havel's support for his effort to preserve Russia's territorial integrity.

Yeltsin writes that he accepts Havel's invitation to Prague and suggests setting the date for the visit later through diplomatic channels.

Lebedev also thanked Havel for his support for Russian democratic reforms. The support is important not only from the political but also psychological and ethical points of view, due to President Havel's large authority, Spacek quoted Lebedev as saying.

Klaus Denies Government To Break Agreements

LD0204193293 Prague CTK in English 1837 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today denied the trade unions' assertion that the government was considering the abrogation of higher collective agreements via amending the Law on Collective Bargaining.

Trade union leaders said on Thursday they had evidence that as early as December 1992, economics ministers decided to charge the Ministry of Labour of and Social Affairs to draft an amendment to the Law on Collective Bargaining which would abolish the higher collective agreements.

The trade unionists said the government was simultaneously negotiating with trade unions the "general agreement" in which it pledged to undertake much of what it was planning to abolish.

The general agreement is designed to ensure social peace in the period of transition from the centrally planned economy to the market one. The 1993 general agreement was signed in March.

We are afraid that the government is not fair to us, said on Thursday Richard Falbr, chairman of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions (CSKOS), which claims a six-million membership.

In the higher type of collective agreements, wages and other conditions of a given sector of the economy are set.

In his statement, passed to CTK today, Klaus said: I am completely shocked by the untruthful and confrontational way in which some trade union representatives attacked the government of the Czech Republic and even accused it of a frontal attack against trade unions...the government has by no means challenged the general agreement for 1993 which was concluded recently, and it is not going to do so.

Klaus said the main purpose of the trade unions' existence is to protect working people at individual work places. I think that the trade unions have not yet done everything they should in this field.

He described the effort by some trade union officials to make the higher collective agreements the central point of the functioning of trade unions in this country as entirely false. It would be wholly nonsensical if it became the source of unnecessary social confrontation.

Interview With President Havel on Slovak Ties

LD0404175093 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Interview with Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Stanislava Dufkova at the Lany presidential residence on 3 April—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] It is Saturday, 3 April, and we are in Lany. Mr. President, this week you received in Prague Slovak President Michal Kovac. Was the only concrete outcome of his trip an agreement that you would meet three times a year, as newspapers reported? [passage omitted]

As it turned out, there were many misunderstandings and suspicions between our governments. During these talks, we clarified some long-term issues of a more general nature concerning the foreign policy orientation of our republics and their mutual relations. Our concord on these general issues had made it possible for us to agree in general on tackling specific issues that hamper our mutual relations.

We have clearly explained to President Kovac that the Czech side is interested in concluding quickly all property-related agreements, for at issue here is one intertwined package of issues. At the same time, we have made it absolutely clear that, once the shares issue begins, the Czech side will not be demanding any compensation for shares of Slovak investment coupon holders, that this problem will resolve itself once property agreements are signed, and that what the Czech side wants is to solve the entire package of issues as one package.

The fact that our positions were clarified has, so to speak, provided political scope for the governments to open urgent negotiations and sign these agreements soon, around the middle of April. Let us hope that it will materialize and that there is no new complication. But even if a complication does arise, I am confident that we shall achieve this property agreement sooner or later, because our not being burdened with these remnants of the past—these residual issues stemming from the division of our common state—is in the interest of both republics. It is in the interest of their economic development, and it is in the interest of their future coexistence.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, according to the newspapers, you have invited Russian President Boris Yeltsin for a visit. He replied that he would come. Why did you invite him? When will he come? Has your action followed an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Havel] [passage omitted] I know President Yeltsin well. As you know, we had many meetings and think we have established certain friendship. Minister Zieleniec, who went to Moscow recently, carried with him my letter for President Yeltsin. In this letter, I reiterated my support for Yeltsin and invited him to visit the Czech Republic. President Yeltsin replied with unusual speed, far quicker

than is usual for this type of correspondence. His feelings of joy at having our support was apparent from this letter. At this moment, however, I do not know whether and when will the visit take place. It depends on diplomatic negotiations.

I certainly think, however, that having good relations with the Russian Federation, with this vast and important state that is living through difficult moments now, is important for the Czech Republic. A new political and economic system is being born in the Russian Federation. For many various reasons, this process is infinitely more complex for the Russian Federation than for the Czech Republic. These are, however, analogical processes.

That is not the only reason why they should have our sympathies and our support, however. Everything that is heading toward democracy, toward the building of a market economy, and toward peaceful incorporation of the Russian Federation into the international community should enjoy our support.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, you have been to Austria, and President Kovac has paid you a visit. What will be your next foreign policy action?

[Havel] I will fly to the United States for a working visit on 20 April. I will hold talks with President Clinton, with other important American officials, and with representatives of the Congress. Although it will only be a two-day visit, my program will be full. I will take part in an important event, which is the opening of the Holocaust Museum. This is an important event, for it will once again remind the whole world of the suffering of the Jews during World War II.

In general, my expectation for the visit is to establish personal contact with President Clinton and present the Czech Republic in the United States for the first time after the division of the state as an independent state heading toward stable democracy and seeking good relations with its neighbors. At the same time, I will have an opportunity to address the American public and to tell them a little about how I view the fundamental problems of the present world. [passage omitted]

There is a need to explain the present day problems and their context. The new U.S. administration and public alike must be told that, given this new situation, the whole world should be aware of the historical significance of these changes and that it should be aware that it is in its own interest to give as much help as possible to the new democracies whose creation is difficult and to understand the nature of these various conflicts. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] Will you invite the U.S. President to visit the Czech Republic?

[Havel] Of course I will. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] Mr. President, do you think we have entered better times?

[Havel] I think we will never reach paradise. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, I would basically like to say that it is precisely the everyday disputes, affairs, problems, and suspicions that are somewhat concealing the basic fact that we are not actually doing badly, that the situation in our country is essentially good, and that the basic objectives that our society set for itself after the fall of communism are being pursued with remarkable success.

When I meet citizens on various occasions, and when they tell me about their plans and worries, I am realizing again and again that we do not have to wait for better times, and we do not have to hope for them as if they were a dream. I realize that we are creating better times now and that we are continuing to do so. It is we who are creating them, and it is up to us to make them genuinely good times.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, thank you for the interview.

Meciar Said To Have Warned Klaus Against Ruml

AU0204173793 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Dusan Sramek: "Is Meciar Behind the Campaign Against Jan Ruml?"]

[Excerpt] Interior Minister Jan Ruml yesterday labeled some assertions of the information media as an organized campaign. In this context he mentioned MLADA FRONTA DNES, from which he received a request to comment on the charges that he was behind the emigrations of Captain Alexej Zak [investigator of illegal operations of the Slusovice cooperative] and Leonard Cimo [former Slovak Ministry of Interior employee who claims that Vladimir Meciar, Slovak interior minister at that time, had ordered him to remove compromising materials about himself from the secret police archives] to Switzerland. MLADA FRONTA DNES had supposedly been informed about this by former Director of the Interior Ministry Inspection Authority Stefl.

Minister Ruml said yesterday that exactly the same explanation had been demanded from him by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who said that he had received this information from Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. "Vaclav Klaus was dismayed by this information," Minister Ruml said. Meciar told Vaclav Klaus, furthermore, that Minister Ruml was forming a second center of power within the Civic Democratic Party and that he was using the Ministry of Interior for this end. In this context, Jan Ruml pointed out that former Czech Government Minister Jaroslav Sabata was working as adviser for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and that Sabata was also in contact with Jiri Mueller, former director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, who works as Brno correspondent of MLADA FRONTA DNES. The minister said that he was aware of the fact that, in view of

some of his political stands, he was inconvenient for Slovak representatives. Ruml described his uncompromising stand in the matter of the state border with the Slovak Republic as one of the possible reasons for the HZDS's objections to him.

Replying to a question from TELEGRAF, the minister confirmed that Police President Ivan Vyleta had offered him his resignation on Saturday [27 March], which the minister did not accept. According to Jan Ruml, the decision on Ivan Vyleta's staying in his post should be made by the end of the week when the inquiry into the work of the Police Presidium should be completed. The minister confirmed, furthermore, that one of the subjects of the inquiry were Ivan Vyleta's moral qualifications, about which the minister has no doubts. The second subject of the inquiry was, Minister Ruml continued, whether the police president was a capable organizer. "I have signals that this is not the case, which is exactly why this inquiry has been launched." [passage omitted]

Republic, EC To Meet on Association Agreement

AU0204154993 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Mar 93 p 1

[CTK report in the "By Wire" column]

[Text] According to a statement released by the Czech Republic's standing mission to the EC, the Czech Republic accepts the EC Commission's proposal to commence talks on a new European Agreement on Association with the EC on 14 April, provided that on 5 April the EC Commission receives from the EC Council a mandate for these negotiations. The negotiations themselves are to concern the sphere of human rights, including the suspension clause [on the possibility of suspending the agreement in the case of human rights violations in the Czech Republic], the division of quotas, transit permits, and other problems.

KDU-CSL To Support Moravian Lands

LD0304182793 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)—Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) told a press conference today that the KDU-CSL would urge its Czech parliamentary deputies to support the creation of three higher territorial units in Moravia and seven regions in the Czech Republic.

Speaking after the first day of the party leadership's two-day meeting in Havlickuv Brod, east Bohemia, Lux said the KDU-CSL assumes that the regions would have their own budgets and right to call referendums, while taking over most of the responsibility for culture, schools, social and medical care, Lux said.

He stressed that although the KDU-CSL leadership understood attempts by Moravian mayors to create more units in the region, the party would not support these moves. Lux added that regional cooperation could take place outside of the new administrative land divisions now being contemplated.

The KDU-CSL leadership, which is set to reconvene on Sunday, also discussed the problem of refugees and agreed that the issue should be resolved through discussions by all countries involved. Lux said his party rejected any unilateral steps taken by whatever country, citing Germany as an example.

DL Concerned Over Situation Within KCSM

LD0304183593 Prague CTK in English 1752 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)—The chairman of the Czech Democratic Left (DL) movement, Lotar Indruch, told journalists today the current situation within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) worries the DL.

He said the DL, a KSCM coalition partner in the Left Bloc (LB), has no doubts as to the wisdom of KSCM members who will not allow the weakening of the party and the loss of its positions during the hard period of its transformation. Indruch voiced the view that transformation will not necessarily lead to a split within the KSCM.

The DL republic-wide committee today appealed for the KSCM to display tolerance and reasonableness while solving its internal problems during its transformation.

Indruch said the Left Bloc has been formed and continues to act as a democratic force with the goal of establishing a socially just society. The LB does not reject cooperation with other political parties and movements whose programmes are aimed at defending the interests of working people and small and medium-sized businessmen, and creating a law-abiding society while securing decent position for its citizens. He said the DL's primary task is strengthening and promoting the LB's activities.

1,500 Protest Against Mine, Steel Mill Closures

AU0204162793 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Mar 93

[CTK report: "Demonstration in Ostrava"]

[Text] Anxiety about the restructuring of heavy industry in the Ostrava-Karvina conurbation was expressed by over 1,500 participants in yesterday's protest demonstration organized by the Ostrava branch of the miners' trade union and by the Association of Trade Union Organizations of North Moravia. Cyril Zapletal, chairman of the Trade Union of Mining, Geology, and Oil Industry Workers, told the demonstrators that the liquidation of mines and steel mills would not only deprive their employees of social guarantees but, in the final analysis, also workers in transportation, retailing, and services. He also voiced the opinion that the Czech Government did not pay sufficient heed to regional policy. The demonstration was free of any incidents, except for the explosion of several firecrackers.

Meciar Discusses Problems With Czech Republic

AU0204142593 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 30 Mar 93 p 8

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Hans-Joerg Schmidt in Bratislava; date not given: "The Slovaks Are Getting Used to Their State"]

[Text] [Schmidt] Mr. Prime Minister, independent Slovakia has now existed for almost 100 days. How are the people coping with their new state?

[Meciar] The people have received the independent state quite well. However, they did not think there would be a misunderstanding with the Czechs along the common border or that the common currency would exist longer. In the meantime, the people are more concerned about the social and economic development than the separation from Bohemia and Moravia.

[Schmidt] What kind of problems are particularly pressing in the relations with the Czech Republic at the moment?

[Meciar] We are a bit worried about the development along the common border, in particular concerning the excessive checks of goods and persons. We did not want that in this way. Another sphere of problems is the division of the formerly common property. All federal structures were destroyed with the end of the federation. Nevertheless, a lot of money went from one country to the other, and now it must be investigated where it ended up. Finally, we are worried by the problems involving the so-called coupon privatization. Claiming that Slovakia owes the Czech Republic money, Prague refused to give the Slovak citizens who have invested in Czech companies the appropriate shares.

[Schmidt] Will Slovakia give in to Prague's pressure in this matter or might there be a Slovak-Czech trade war?

[Meciar] We are not interested in a trade war, even though we would have many possibilities to hurt the Czech Republic's economy, but this would be pointless. Tensions are not supposed to grow, after all. I think the problems are temporary.

[Schmidt] Since the separation of the curriences in February, the trade of the two successor states of the CSFR has dramatically declined. Experts are recommending a devaluation of the Slovak koruna to stimulate the economy.

[Meciar] There were several surprises for the Slovak economy. No one was able to predict the consequences when domestic trade with the Czechs suddenly turned into foreign trade. Second, the inner-Czechoslovak prices were not oriented toward real market prices. The fact that trade with Prague is declining is mainly due to the administrative problems at the border. In addition, we are no longer selling anything cheap and we are not buying everything at any price. Regarding the currency, we must stabilize it from the inside.

[Schmidt] Under the pressure of the German asylum compromise, Prague is striving for a stricter regime at the border with Slovakia. You yourself oppose the erection of a new "Iron Curtain." Are you feeling indirect pressure from Bonn regarding this matter?

[Meciar] First of all, we fully understand Germany's problems with the illegal immigrants. We want to help solve this problem within the framework of our possibilities. Slovakia will support the return of the refugees who have been rejected by Germany to their countries of origin through Slvoakia's territory. However, the reacceptance of these people in their countries of origin must be ensured. These people must not accumulate on the territory of another state. However, I do not like the fact that the situation in Germany affects the situation at the Slovak-Czech border. After all, last year only 600 refugees crossed this border illegally, coming from Slovakia.

[Schmidt] Have you thought about introducing compulsory visas in connection with the problem of migration?

[Meciar] I do not think that this will be necessary, in particular since most refugees do not cross the border legally but illegally. However, we must change the entire regime at the border with Ukraine and Hungary in order to prevent illegal immigration.

Interviewed on Gabcikovo, Recall of Knazko

AU0504095493 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 30 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Stanislav Haber in Trnava on 28 March: "No Rewards for Services Rendered, Bonuses, or Compensation; After the Assembly, a Midnight Talk With V. Meciar"]

[Text] [Haber] Mr. Meciar, are you aware of the two letters that Milan Knazko sent, while foreign minister, to two experts on Gabcikovo-Nagymaros [hydroelectric project], and if you are aware of them, would you care to assess them?

[Meciar] These were letters to Mr. Binder and to the government commissioner for the project, Mr. Kocinger, in which Knazko forbids them to comment on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project. Both reported this to me, and I disagreed with his decision. First, it is an infringement of personal rights that a minister cannot afford. They are citizens with rights and opinions. Second, it was a political error—while they proclaimed their views, Mr. Knazko could have always said that they were the opinions of private persons and disassociate himself from them. As a matter of fact, it was desirable that someone should act and argue this way, as he could actually relay information that the government—if it did not want to get involved in a conflict—could not provide. It was one of several political errors committed by the Foreign Ministry in dealing with the Gabcikovo issue. I asked Binder and Kocinger to disregard this instruction. I learned about it just before the Brussels trip, after a substantial delay, in the

presence of Professor Mucha. It was a transgression against civil rights and the political significance of their speeches.

[Haber] Could it be classified as censorship?

[Meciar] What else? It goes even further than censorship. It is an infringement of human rights. Can I forbid you to write or talk? After all, the right to comment freely on matters is enshrined in our Constitution. It is worse than censorship, because by means of censorship you erase an opinion, while here the mouth is gagged, which, of course, we cannot do, because democrats do not act that way.

[Haber] What are the rules of procedure for political talks, and how much are these people allowed to say?

[Meciar] They can speak when they meet with the other party and have received prior authorization. In foreign policy, the government approves the extent of the representative's authorization, hence he is limited by his accreditation.

[Haber] So, these letters cannot be understood as a challenge to these gentlemen's commission?

[Meciar] It is not a question of these gentlemen's brief but rather of the loss of the initiative we had in our hands, the loss of the political advantage arising from the opportunity we had, at the time, to make the legal and technical sides of the problem the center of attention. We failed to do it, and that is why we lost. While only the Hungarian Government had politicized this problem so far, many now do it, and nobody is interested in the technical and legal aspects—our strong side—but only in the political ones. That is, in a way, our downfall.

[Haber] It is a popular practice to put a price on mistakes. Do you have any idea how much we lost in this instance?

[Meciar] It is difficult to say at this time. If the complaint went to The Hague in the form in which it was drafted, it would have ended badly. There would have been no need for us to even go there; we would have lost everything. Therefore, Minister Moravcik has taken some steps, and we have sought new possibilities for an accord.

[Haber] In a recent television appearance, you spoke about the merit principle, and you said that you would accept this principle as long as an undeserving person does not receive a post. An hour after he assumes the post, the only thing that matters is his skills. Can the Knazko affair be perceived as a demonstration that from now on you will advocate only the appointments of people who have both rendered particular services and possess the qualifications.

[Meciar] If the situation were the same as it was, I would again propose Knazko for the posts of deputy prime minister and foreign minister. We must take into consideration that, at the time, we dealt with matters of personnel, we had certain human resources, and we were facing the task of dividing these people in such a way that they would be as operational in Prague as in Bratislava. We managed to do that. Both components were equal. After the federal bodies concluded their operation, an oversaturation occurred because the good we had in Prague returned and awaits an application here. Nevertheless, that is not the main reason. The merit principle can be understood so that we can award a person a medal, give him a reward, but we cannot employ and pay him indefinitely. One must appreciate services rendered, and if the law would state that people will be rewarded with life-long pensions for rendering particular, let it do so, I will support it. I oppose, on the other hand, granting state posts as rewards for past services, however great they may have been. I personally do not believe that I have rendered any particular services, but if I no longer worked as prime minister, I could resort to my old profession—that is all. It is simple. We are paid for our work, we do it. The people chose us for the job. The job is finished, and we go on. No rewards for services rendered, bonuses, or compensation.

[Haber] Would it have been possible to do it more simply if Mr. Moravcik had assumed the post on 1 January?

[Meciar] Do you know when I first proposed to Mr. Knazko that he resign? In October 1992. At the time, the issue was raised at the political caucus (there were three of us)—if you mean well, resign. We were convinced that an abatement, a relief was coming, and acted friendly, put on a smile—because who wants conflict? To what purpose? Nevertheless, after October, it was no longer a personal and operational issue. It acquired a deeper meaning. The objective changed, and it has been different ever since. If we had not unveiled it now, the movement would have collapsed.

[Haber] Do you believe that Mr. Knazko acted purely on his personal ambition, or was there a deeper political effect of a political party or movement?

[Meciar] I believe in the second option.

Sets Conditions for Hungarian Relations

AU0204162993 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Mar 93 p 3

[MTI report: "Bratislava Again Failed To Discuss Bos"]

[Text] The first condition for good Slovak-Hungarian relations would be the recognition of the unalterability of the borders, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar declared.

In his interview in the 30 March issue of GENERAL ANZEIGER published in Bonn, Vladimir Meciar confirmed that the Slovak foreign minister proposed to his Hungarian colleague that Budapest and Bratislava sign an agreement about the inviolability of borders.

"Relations with Hungary are extremely important for us. Hungary is the country with which we have the longest common border. This border must not be changed. Recognizing this would be the first condition for good bilateral relations. We are waiting for a reply from Budapest, and we hope it will be a positive one," Vladimir Meciar declared.

Vladimir Meciar also said that, in his view, if the joint document on submitting the Bos issue to the International Court in The Hague is presented in its current form, then this affair would have a detrimental effect on Bratislava. Foreign Minister Moravcik "has already taken steps and we have been seeking ways that would lead to an agreement," Vladimir Meciar said.

Interviewed on Current Affairs

LD0204210593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Regular interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by radio station editor Bulakova, place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Bulakova] When will the government finish its comprehensive program for Slovakia's development and present it to the parliament?

[Meciar] The program of Slovakia's development or activity for the near future is ready. We drafted a budget that we presented to the parliament last month. We drafted a program of topical economic measures and gave it to the parliament. We also drafted a wider forecast for the next three to four years, i.e., till the end of our election term. [passage omitted]

Addressing the specific issue of funding, the problem is not just budget resources. There are still two trends in this sphere. One is to continue as it used to be done, for example, give more and more subsidies to individual spheres and thus place pressure on funding. The other way is to consider the reality of the existing resources, the quantitative and qualitative changes in our society, and begin with a fundamental change of internal structures.

The pressure that the government is permanently subjected to is the effort to preserve the status quo. We cannot do this. Health care as well as education have to undergo changes. [passage omitted]

It is simply not possible to work without fundamental changes. If you make a change, everybody has his opinion about it. Somebody says that the past way was good, somebody doubts whatever you do. The fact that people have different views is good. However, spreading unrest, distrust, and hatred should not reach such a dimension in our society as it has currently reached. [Passage omitted]

[Bulakova] The president was on his first foreign visit to the Czech Republic. Both he and the top representatives of the Czech Republic were very optimistic about the possibility of signing agreements on the property settlement by 15 April. Do you consider this deadline to be realistic?

[Meciar] Yes, provided that the Czech side accepts the position of the Slovak side. For example, it was promised that the agreements would be signed by 15 April, but I have not seen them yet. It is a paradox when the government has to conclude agreements—for example, on the division of the bank and on the liquidation of federation's budget—but neither the Slovak minister of finance nor I have seen them. We do not know what they contain; we did not study them. We only know that they should be signed by 15 April. That is clearly not possible.

The adjustment of Czech-Slovak relations represents items to be credited and items to be debited on both sides. It means that we cannot talk solely about the items that the Czech side demands from Slovakia. We have to discuss also items that the Slovak side demands from the Czech Republic. If no compromise is achieved, then the agreement containing merely unilateral obligations of Slovakia is not possible. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] Do you envisage a meeting with your Czech partner, Mr. Klaus, in the near future?

[Meciar] I have received an official invitation from Prime Minister Klaus to visit the Czech Republic. The meeting will take place after it has been organized. To see one another and to shake hands is not enough. Is it possible to hold talks like this, when one is pushed to the corner?

So, if they exert more pressure...[pauses] There is one difference. While media in the Czech Republic give unconditional support to Klaus in pressuring the Slovak side, our media in Slovakia not only do not support the government, they even cast doubts on the government for fighting for Slovak interests.

[Bulakova] Does that mean that you do not share the opinion held by your Czech partner, Mr. Klaus, that the conclusion of the agreement on the property settlement is first of all a political matter?

[Meciar] No, it is first and utmost an economic matter, purely an economic matter. It means that good accounts make good friends. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] What is, in your view, a realistic date for the signing of the agreement on property settlement?

[Meciar] I am not interested in the date. I am interested in the contents of the agreements. If the agreements are good, if they are based on mutual respect and on observing the rules of fair play, then we can sign them immediately. If they are not prepared in this way, we shall have to start thinking about who will sign them. It will not be me.

[Bulakova] Prime Minister, in this interview you said several times that the media and propaganda are aimed against the Slovak Government. Also, last week in this

regular 10-minute interview you complained that the government did not have any backing from the media and that there is very little objective information. However, many journalists feel that we lack objective information about the steps that the prime minister and the government are taking. Many times there is no specific person that we can ask our questions of except you directly. We need a spokesman. Will we, the journalists, have a spokesman for the prime minister one day, or some club where the prime minister and journalists would meet for informal meetings?

[Meciar] Of course, the issue of relations with the press is very complex, but from Saturday through today I spent exactly five and a half working hours with journalists. Is this too much or too little? As far as the press department of the government's office is concerned, it has disintegrated, it does not exist, it is not functional at the moment. It is being reconstructed very quickly though. The newly hired employees were recommended to establish a club of prestigious journalists. But this will not help either, because not everyone will have the same access. It will be differentiated again, and some will get offended because of the others. You simply cannot please everyone, and if one starts selecting, you journalists will start bickering.

But let's talk about something else. Look, the important thing is not how Meciar as a person behaves towards the journalists. Something else matters here. A state has come into being, and this state is three months old. Its mechanisms are starting to work. The state is holding together well. Nothing has collapsed, neither the state nor the currency, although many predicted that within three or four months, at the latest, it would be down on its knees. In a similar note they are now predicting what will happen with the economy and present these wishes as reality. Not even the economy will collapse. It is in a bad state, but we will know how to improve it. The fundamental thing is that we begin to orient the society toward something constructive. There are so many programs and so many documents, but everyone is waiting for a miracle. There is no miracle. The miracle is not in forecasts, but in everyday hard work. The miracle is in people's honesty. The miracle is in the ability to unite and not divide, in stopping suspicion and hatred of each other, in hard work. It cannot be done any other way. The media and everyone else must realize what is positive for Slovakia. They are Slovak journalists; they live here. Don't they feel any responsibility for this country? And not just them, many intellectuals as well. [raises voice] Don't they feel that this is their country, these are their people, these are their problems? You just cannot do these things. Meciar is an unimportant figure compared to what is happening. I am the prime minister and it is true that I bear a great share of responsibility, but one person cannot bear all the responsibility with the others just watching how things are going bad and thinking: If it ends bad, he will take all the blame. The important thing is not how I end up. It is not important what the composition of the government is. What matters is what Slovakia will be like in 10, 20, or 30 years, what foundations we will give it to survive in 200 or 300 years. If we do not start to think in this way, we will lose.

Announces Business Tax Benefits

LD0404204293 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 4 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today told Slovak Television that the government would provide large scale tax benefits for different kinds of businesses.

Today's goal is not belt-tightening any longer but to promote citizens' activities, Meciar said.

The Slovak premier said that under regulations adopted at the government's last session, March 30, all private businesses incorporated in the Slovak Republic after December 31, 1992, will be freed from income taxes for the first tax period from the moment they declare their received income. He said that the regulation will not concern investment firms and investment funds.

Meciar said that companies which have a minimum of 30 per cent foreign participation will be freed from income taxes for two tax periods. In cases where the share of foreign capital in the corporate stock of the company is at least one million Deutsch Marks the tax break will be applicable even if the foreign investment makes up less than 30 per cent, Meciar said.

He said that in the banking sphere, those businessmen who open their bank branches in Zvolen or Banska Bystrica in central Slovakia will be freed from income tax for up to seven tax periods. He stressed that in the Slovak Government's view, these towns provide ideal conditions for promoting banking activities and voiced the hope that a strong banking centre will be created there thanks to the government's measures.

Meciar said that the government has charged the Ministry of Finance with preparing measures providing for tax relief for all businessmen who employ secondary school and university students during summer holidays.

Meciar said that the government is also preparing tax breaks for businessmen in many districts and towns, primarily in central and east Slovakia. He said the goal of these measures will be to boost entrepreneurship among Slovakia's citizens.

Kovac on Czech Relations, Internal Politics

AU0404192893 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Mar 93 p 9

[Interview with President Michal Kovac by Petr Janyska in Bratislava on 29 March: "We Are Ready To Sign the Treaty Tomorrow"]

[Text] [Janyska] Mr. President, tomorrow you will travel to Prague for your first official visit abroad. Why to Prague? Do you consider the Czech Republic to be a

neighbor with whom you have a special relationship, or do you go there because tremendous problems have arisen between the two states?

[Kovac] Just as President Havel decided to pay his first visit to Slovakia, I decided on Prague as my first destination long before there were any problems over signing the treaty on property division. The Slovak Republic considers its relationship with the Czech Republic a priority issue. We are very interested in good friendly relations, particularly in the economic sphere.

[Janyska] What are you going to discuss in Prague, and what do you hope to achieve?

[Kovac] I am going there as president and do not wish to interfere in the executive business. As agreed with the prime minister, however, I intend to present certain proposals. One is that our government is willing to sign at any time, even tomorrow, the treaty on property that was ready as long ago as the visit to the Slovak Republic by Klaus. After all, it was initialed by the finance ministers. The Czech side subsequently raised objections to certain stipulations, and as a result, it has not been signed. These objections cannot be included in an already-initialed treaty. They can be dealt with in connection with other, still open issues that are subject to negotiation between our governments.

[Janyska] Does this mean that you expect additional demands from the Czech side?

[Kovac] The mechanism of the negotiation is such that commissions convene, they agree on something, and then the Czech side presents additional demands (the division of assets and liabilities, the problem of the Slovak gold, the final classification of organizations founded by the former federal bodies, interdepartmental agreements linked to the division of the state financial assets). Speaking on behalf of the Czech side, the foreign minister imposes the condition—we have no idea why—on the signing of the basic treaty, of solving these additional problems.

The Slovak side has never said that it would not accept the claims of the Czech National Bank against the Slovak National Bank. The only question is what could be deducted from that claim. The Slovak Republic also has claims against the Czech Republic.

A balance of 24.7 billion (korunas) has been agreed upon and confirmed by international audit. At the same time, it was established that, from the time of the federation, the Czech Republic owes its Slovak counterpart the Slovak Investment Development Bank subsidy a sum of 1.5 billion korunas, a one-third share of the former Federal National Property Fund amounting to 0.8 billion korunas, a one-third share of the equity assets of the Kosolidacni banka totalling 1 billion korunas, a one-third share in the stock of the former Material Reserves Fund in the amount of 1.6 billion korunas, and other items, all of which belong to the Slovak Republic. The sum total of these amounts should be deducted from the balance. The Slovak Republic agreed to the offer, made by the Czech Republic, that it could pay the difference over the next 10 years (with certain interest accrued). Of course, the Czech Republic was supposed to draft this treaty but has not yet done so. I myself am surprised by all the fuss made—for whatever reasons—over this issue, that can only harm relations between our republics.

[Janyska] [Czech Privatization] Minister Skalicky claimed several days ago in LIDOVE NOVINY that the Slovak side is delaying or even refuses to sign the treaty on property settlement. Would you disagree?

[Kovac] Right, the Slovak side was ready to sign the treaty as long ago as Klaus's visit.

[Janyska] What else are you going to discuss?

[Kovac] Our interest in the development of long-term ties, that should be clarified. Both republics follow the same direction, they both want to integrate into the European security structures as soon as possible, and this common objective also predetermines their joint advent on the international scene.

[Janyska] Do you expect that a treaty will be signed on joint progress in foreign policy?

[Kovac] No, not at all. We will probably just adopt a joint statement.

[Janyska] Are you going to discuss the border? How do you see the demand of the Czech side that the same border conditions exist between the two republics as there are between other European countries?

[Kovac] I do not like it. It is another departure from the treaties signed to date, which guaranteed that Czech and Slovak citizens could cross the border freely. In the latest working draft of the treaty, the Czech side demands that the citizens of both republics residing outside a 20-kilometer border zone carry passports or other documents would no longer suffice. I feel that it is improper, both psychologically and politically. Moreover, it does not solve the problem from which it all stems, for example, that third-country nationals would come to Slovakia through Hungary, Ukraine, or Poland. That must be dealt with jointly, in the presence of the FRG, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Austria, Poland, Ukraine, and Hungary, similar to the interior ministers meeting in Budapest. Our demand that a certain regime be implemented with respect to Hungary would be pointless without agreements between Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine.

[Janyska] Will you also discuss the frozen shares of Slovak participants in the coupon privatization?

[Kovac] It is not on the agenda as it goes beyond the problems of the division of federal property. After all, we are not talking federal property here, but rather the claims of private citizens against the Coupon Privatization Center. They cannot be the subject of international talks.

[Janyska] The Czech Republic has considerable claims against Slovakia, and Prague believes that Slovakia is not very willing to pay, or that the funds needed to do so may be lacking.

[Kovac] The Slovak side has never questioned any claim of the Czech side based on the federal property division. I am waiting for a suggestion from Tosovsky regarding the payment of these claims over the next 10 years.

[Janyska] Several years ago, relations between Slovakia and Hungary were free of conflict, then Gabcikovo came up, and the dispute will probably end up in The Hague. How do you see the relationship between these two countries?

[Kovac] I do not see any drama in this relationship. As far as Gabcikovo is concerned, both the Hungarian and the Slovak sides believe that Gabcikovo must not be an obstacle to friendly relations in other areas. A certain EC representative has already prepared a draft joint application on the subject of Gabcikovo, that the Hungarian and Slovak sides will submit to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. It should have a calming effect, as it is an expression of a joint will to accept the decision of the international institution.

[Janyska] Slovakia is the smallest state in Central Europe. How do you intend to guarantee its political independence, so that it does not become a satellite of a larger neighbor, Ukraine for instance?

[Kovac] Simply, the same way the Czech Republic does it. Our foreign and security policies are clearly defined. When the time is ripe we want to become a NATO member, and we want to become part of the European security structures. It is not in the interests of Slovakia that the border of Western Europe be located on the Morava River or at the Slovak-Ukrainian border, but that a unified Europe be built with a system of collective security.

[Janyska] You are a founding member of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia; you were its deputy and minister. Today, as president, you have a suspended membership. To what degree do you feel tied to this force, or do you really consider yourself above party politics?

[Kovac] I have no political obligations, and as president, I must perceive all political entities as equal. I stated in my speech at the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia assembly that no political entity can deal with a complex problem on its own without cooperation with other forces, and I appealed to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia not to succumb to illusions of grandeur. I said that the movement has the same rights but a greater responsibility than other political entities.

[Janyska] One frequently hears in Slovakia that the autonomist tendencies of the Hungarian minority living in the south represent a danger to this republic. What can you do to make this minority feel better?

[Kovac] First, we must establish what is the imposition on the ethnic minority citizen that makes his position different from that of a majority citizen? Is it education or job availability?

[Janyska] Is it remarkable that the entire Hungarian political representation in this country opposes the main force of present Slovakia, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia?

[Kovac] No, at one time, they may be in the opposition, at another, a part of the coalition. After all, there were Hungarian representatives in the previous government. At this time, it is very important for the Slovak Republic that the Budapest government declare its cognizance of the unalterability of the Slovak-Hungarian border. Our foreign minister has already submitted this request to [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Jeszensky. As soon as the Hungarian side clearly declares the invariability of the border, ethnic minority demands of autonomy will acquire an entirely new dimension.

[Janyska] Will that be easy for Hungary in view of Prime Minister Meciar's public statements that Hungary is building its espionage network in Slovakia and reinforcing its Air Force?

[Kovac] One must determine whether or not it is so. After all, the prime minister does not invent it.

[Janyska] Despite the denial by the defense minister?

[Kovac] As far as air reconnaissance goes, that is something else. Regarding the other issues, however, each builds on the information he receives from his intelligence, and that is not necessarily reliable. If a neighboring state learns that Hungary and Russia signed a contract on the supply of arms to Hungary, it must be interested in why the arms are supplied in such large quantities. If an explanation comes, stating that this concerns modernization or resale to third countries, or a method of paying off Hungarian claims against Russia, it changes everything. Nevertheless, perhaps one should not talk about it in public.

[Janyska] A wide-spread opinion has it that the present government in Slovakia includes forces attempting to create a cryptocommunist, centrally controlled system. What do you think?

[Kovac] That is definitely nonsense.
prising that the top four posts in the Slovak Republic—the prime minister, the parliament chairman, the Supreme Court chairman, and the president—are all held by former communists (Cic was even a member of the Communist Party as recently as 1990), none by any of the opponents of the communists.

[Kovac] The classification of citizens as former communists is nonsense. Our Party of the Democratic Left is comprised of former communists, and at the same time, it is a parliamentary party, a democratic party. What would we do if this party won the elections? Would we

say that former communists and communists who transferred to the Party of the Democratic Left are in power? Such shortsighted questions have no place in politics. We have settled the account with the exponents of the former regime. It is actual accomplishments that matter in politics now, and how one proves himself, both civically and publicly.

[Janyska] How do you expect the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia to develop? Will it split, and if not, will it transform into a party? Is it going to change its name? What ideology will prevail here?

[Kovac] Analyses conducted prior to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia assembly indicate that transformation into a party could take place within a year or two. By then the international orientation of the movement will have been demonstrated. Meciar mentioned some offers from the Democratic Union and from the Socialist International. The membership consists of Christians, liberal democrats, and those with a social democratic leaning. We would need a survey to establish the tendency of the officials and the majority of the membership, and then decide on the basis of its outcome. Nonetheless, I believe that for a long time to come a center party will have the best chances in Slovakia—with one wing slightly to the left, and the other one slightly to the right.

[Janyska] You were one of the ministers who, together with Knazko, left the government after Prime Minister Meciar was recalled. Today, a war rages between the two men. What is the essence of the controversy? Have you tried to appease them?

[Kovac] Yes, I tried. My attempts to this effect, however, have not succeeded. It is a matter of the differing perception of Meciar's personality. Knazko perceives Meciar's personality in a certain way; others perceive it differently.

[Janyska] You present the issue as a personal conflict, but it is demonstrated by the prime minister not allowing the foreign minister to travel abroad, and the government revoking this decision. One could say that it harms Slovakia's international image.

[Kovac] It certainly does that. Nevertheless, it is, on the part of the prime minister, just a way of showing that he cannot rely on cooperation with Knazko.

[Janyska] When you recalled Knazko from office, you explained by stating that accommodating Meciar would avert disaster. Last month, however, Prime Minister Meciar lost 10 percent in the popularity survey that gave him a total of 25 percent. Would it really be such a loss if he left?

[Kovac] It is not so simple. The popularity of other politicians is also declining. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, its chairman, and the government must analyze these surveys because it would be difficult to separate one from the other—the chairman of the movement is also the prime minister. In politics, a decline in popularity equals a change only if the deputies do not give their support to government proposals.

[Janyska] Knazko recently alleged that you and other Movement for a Democratic Slovakia deputy chairmen have appealed to Meciar to remove Nagyova, and he replied that Nagyova has documentation that could completely destroy him.

[Kovac] I prefer not to comment on that. These are matters connected with the internal life of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and, with a reasonable approach to public affairs, they should not be a subject for public concern.

[Janyska] This weekend you took part in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia assembly. On what basis, as you are the [nonpartisan] president?

[Kovac] I received an invitation, and I would go to the assembly of any party that invited me. I consider it an honor if a party invites the president. It is also proof of the president's nonpartisan position if he attends the assemblies of other parties.

Kovac Evaluates Visit to Prague as Successful

AU0204175693 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 31 (CTK)— Slovak President Michal Kovac's two-day official visit to the Czech Republic was very successful, especially concerning the issue of property division between the two states, Kovac said shortly after his return to Bratislava today.

Kovac said that while in Prague he had expressed Slovakia's readiness to conclude property agreements. Seven of them have already been sent to Prague, and we will finish discussing the other two by Friday, he said. Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth, who accompanied Kovac to Prague, said that the final discussion of the agreements should begin within a week.

Kovac also explained the Slovak position regarding Czech debts. Slovakia is awaiting an audit and nothing prevents us from coming to an agreement with the Czech Republic on the forms of balancing claims, he said.

Toth said that he believed this would be carried out through long-term payments, but neither confirmed nor denied that a term of ten years had been agreed upon in Prague.

Practical aid for Slovaks in the Czech Republic is not possible for the time being, Kovac said, because their unions and organizations have not set up any umbrella association. The questions of how to agree and who will defend their interests are the business of the Slovaks in the Czech Republic, he said. He said that a policy of reciprocity on basic issues should be observed in relation to Czechs living in Slovakia and Slovaks living in the

Czech Republic. The positions of both sides should be based on valid legal norms and international obligations of both countries, he said.

Minister Tuchyna Discusses Border Reinforcement

AU0204172693 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 31 Mar 93 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna by Katarina Fornerova; place and date not given: "I Have Not Taken the Uniform Off Completely"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Fornerova] Politicians are supposed to be up to date. What does that mean in your department?

[Tuchyna] To be up to date in the "interior" means to "gulp down" a tremendous amount of information, register it, and be able to use it. You know, there is nothing simpler than coming to a minister and putting a microphone in front of his face.... [passage omitted]

[Fornerova] Let us be more specific about being up to date: citizenship processing, relinquishing the citizenship of one or the other republic, passports, the issue of our common border—these are issues that disturb and interest people today. Can the department do something for them?

[Tuchyna] It will be difficult because, frankly, we have not found the proper understanding and reasonable reaction to the treaties we signed with the Czech Republic. The Czech side is foisting upon us the idea of a solid border—the standard border, as they call it. We fully understand this demand. It is an expression of sovereignty, and it is a must for a state to have its territory. The question remains, however, whether this applies at the end of the 20th century, and whether conceived in this manner—a state surrounded by a police cordon or an iron curtain. Would that be appropriate? After all, even the West European states are integrating now! Even the movement of people is, one could say, without any control, while we, guided by some misconceived ideas, want to reintroduce such control. [passage omitted]

The small-scale border traffic scheme is contrary to the treaties on visa-free travel and personal identification. I cannot help observing that we are no longer just regions! We are two sovereign states and, as we concluded these treaties, subsequently ratified by the parliaments, we must act accordingly. If one of them does not suit us, it must be abrogated and a new agreement must be negotiated. Nevertheless, the small-scale border traffic scheme violates the adopted treaties. The treaty on personal identification states: Personal identification documents are valid throughout the territory of the former CSFR. That means no visas are required and the stay is not limited in any way.

[Fornerova] Is there nothing positive about this idea to prevent a flood of asylum seekers? Should we not introduce more exacting conditions for the stay in our country, granting political asylum, etc.? After all, we do not have money to burn.

[Tuchyna] Securing the border against migration is a certain filter. However, does one need a police cordon or barbed wires enclosing the "yard," which no one may enter? The idea of a less controlled border is that of a border without these measures. After all, against whom do we want to protect the border?! Is it because of the 710 people who, according to the federal statistics, crossed the border illegally last year and subsequently attempted to cross the Czech-German border?! These people will always figure in statistics! The number 710 really is so small, particularly in view of the claim in the same federal statistics that last year more than 17,000 people attempted to cross the Czech-German border illegally. What a ratio that is?!

Well, until the states from which the migrants leave manage to cope with their economic situation, the problem will endure, and it will not be solved even by a new asylum law in Germany.

[Fornerova] The former Border Guards have also been transferred under the umbrella of the Slovak Interior Ministry. In what respect has it changed?

[Tuchyna] Our concept of border protection is different from the federal one. Without cooperation with the inhabitants of the communities in the border regions, the Border Police would probably execute their duties as they have done until now. I must repeat, however, we do not want a solid border, just a controlled one. The first three months indicate that it has begun to work as such. People turn to the border police with their concerns, and point out individuals and groups of people who apparently do not belong there. That is what we expected. By involving the locals, we will be able substantially to improve the protection of the state border. We are certainly aware of its inadequacy. After all, six policemen for a 13-kilometer section (for instance) is very little. Therefore, there is a selection process under way among the men in the Slovak Army to reinforce the protection of the state border. That does not mean they would do this independently but together with the Border Police.

[Fornerova] You mentioned cooperation with the public. Does this mean that cooperation on the basis of Boarder Guard Aides is to be reintroduced?

[Tuchyna] That is a very sensitive issue. There have been some attempts to reintroduce this sort of cooperation but for the time being only on an individual basis. These efforts have not met with a wide response, however, because of the lingering stigma of cooperation with the former State Security that has burdened our citizens since 1990. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Toth Comments on Bankruptcy

AU0504122293 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 31 Mar 93 p 4

[TA SR report: "One-Third Under the Hammer"]

[Text] Bratislava— According to Minister of Finance Julius Toth, it is necessary to ascertain how much credit farmers have drawn, what the prospects of these credits being repaid are, and how many of them are irrecoverable. This sum is estimated at approximately 30 billion korunas but the exact figures must be made available to the Slovak Ministry of Finance by the banks. Had the 17th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic not approved a postponement of the validity of the law on bankruptcy and settlement, almost 80 percent of our enterprises would be facing the threat of bankruptcy, Minister of Finance Julius Toth said.

"But the banks that have been financing these enterprises would also be pulled into bankruptcy, and a situation would arise in Slovakia similar to that in the United States after the crash of the stock market in 1929," the minister said.

According to the minister, all creditors will strive to recover their entire investment. For this to happen they should become actively involved in the enterprise, limit the rights of the owners, exchange the management, and decide, after consultations with experts, whether to let the factory operate for another three months, with strict observance of financial discipline (if the enterprise is deemed fit for survival), or whether to initiate bankruptcy proceedings, with the risk of recovering only 30 percent of their investment. The minister is convinced that in this way it will be possible to save a considerable part of the enterprises that are threatened with bankruptcy.

Defense Minister Promises 'No Purge' in Army

LD0404214693 Prague CTK in English 1443 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 4 (CTK correspondent)—There will be no purge in the Slovak Army, Slovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak said in an interview here with the RIA Russian news agency.

No career officer in the Slovak Army will be discharged just because in the past he agreed with the intervention of the Warsaw Pact Armies in Czechoslovakia (in 1968), Andrejcak added.

He said that although under the Vienna agreements Slovakia can have a 65,000-strong army, it does not need armed forces of such a great size. Andrejcak said he considered 36,000 troops to be a realistic figure for the Slovak Army, and added that this number of troops could be further reduced within the next few years.

Unlike the Czech Republic, we do not seek immediate entrance into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Andrejcak said. He said that Slovakia would have to mature to take such a step from the political, economic and military viewpoints. There is quite a long way to go, RIA quotes Andrejcak as having said.

Knazko Not To Exert Pressure on Deputies

AU0204175793 Prague CTK in English 1848 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 31 (CTK)— Former Slovak Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier Milan Knazko today told CTK he did not know how many Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) deputies in the Slovak parliament were supporting him.

Knazko, former HZDS deputy chairman, said he did not, however, intend to exert any pressure on HZDS deputies as everything depends on their free decision. They must know themselves whether or not it feels good to be in the HZDS, whether or not they can freely express their views, Knazko said.

Knazko was reacting to a statement by Branislav Zahradnik, chairman of the Democratic Youth of Slovakia (DMS), who said some 15 HZDS deputies in the parliament were on Knazko's side.

Knazko definitively rejected reports about his alleged negotiations with Jan Holcik, leader of a liberal faction within the Democratic Party (DS), on the establishment of a new liberal party. Holcik's faction announced the decision to leave the DS on March 29. I will hold talks with Holcik only once he is a representative of another party, Knazko said.

On March 29 Zahradnik told journalists that Holcik's liberal faction would seek to form a new liberal party of which Knazko might become a leader.

Democratic Congress Changes Party Landscape

AU0204203293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Mar 93 p 2

[Commentary by Juraj Alner: "The Right-Wing Roulette Keeps Spinning: New Regrouping After This Weekend's Congresses"]

[Text] We have been pointing out for quite some time now that the arrangement of political forces in Slovakia is in a state of flux and corresponds more to last year's status than to its future shape. We are still in a state of ferment. This does not mean instability but, rather, a search for identity. While the left wing (the Party of the Democratic Left and Social Democrats) has a relatively clear idea about their own future and are fortifying their positions, the right-wing parties are only assuming clearer profiles. Since the lost elections last summer, their evolution has not come to a halt. The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is looking for a credible program, which will probably have to be more civic than Christian, with natural conservative and social accents. The extraparliamentary parties must, above all, find a

way toward each other because, fragmented as they are, they stand no chance of succeeding in the next elections either.

According to the ideas of the Party of Conservative Democrats [SKD], the heir to the Civic Democratic Union, this "way toward one another" means that it will absorb whatever other right-wing parties there are, which is the only feasible path toward a strong right-wing party. Even today, people are active in the SKD who had come from several small parties. The next step should be the SKD's merger with the Slovak Civic Democratic Party (ODS), most probably under the name SKD. The ODS leadership seems to be ready to take this step. A decision ought to be made by the end of May, that is, by the time of the SKD congress, which has been confirmed also by ODS Chairman Jozef Bednar.

The Democratic Party's problem so far has been its orientation. While party chairman Peter Mattos has been enforcing a conservative orientation, Jan Holcik has been enforcing a liberal orientation. Mattos views his resignation critically: "The party did not develop politically under my leadership and its popularity did not increase. That is why I did not run for the post of party chairman again," he told me yesterday, after returning from the Democratic Party's congress in Martin. According to Anton Duris, the new party chairman, the question of conservative versus liberal orientation is not decisive. "What matters is to develop a rapport with the countryside again and to make the party more dynamic," he says and is willing to have both orientations in the party.

Milan Knazko intends to set up a liberal party and it cannot be ruled out that Holcik will be heading in the same direction. The Democratic Party will thus have to seek its supporters among both currents. It will not be easy, if it does not want to fall between the cracks again.

Democratic Union of Hungarians Holds Assembly

LD0304170093 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 3 (CTK)—Defending the interests of minorities is neither irredentism nor an attempt to divide society, Victor Bauer, chairman of Csemadok, the Democratic Union of Hungarians resident in the Czech and Slovak Republics, said today.

Speaking at Csemadok's 17th General Assembly in Dunajska Streda, west Slovakia, Bauer stressed that Csemadok, the largest civic organisation in Slovakia, does not intend to turn into a political entity but wants to distinctly outline the problems and the rights of the Hungarian minority in the Slovak Republic.

We do not want to interfere in politics but we must direct attention to such measures as the abolition of Hungarian-language signs and geographic names in south Slovak regions populated mostly by Hungarians and to the refusal to inscribe Hungarian surnames in birth certificates on the part of registry offices, Bauer said.

Slovak President Michal Kovac conveyed his greetings to the assembly. Milan Zemko from the president's office told participants that the president plans to set up a group of experts in his office to study relations between ethnic minorities living in the Slovak Republic and minorities' legal position. The president supports the establishment of a minorities' negotiating-table which would take stands on all fundamental problems of minorities' lives and on all laws and regulations concerning them, Zemko said.

He said that the president also intends to deal thoroughly with a draft law on minorities' position.

Slovak Government Deputy Premier Roman Kovac, a guest at the assembly, said in his address he appreciates all appeals for tolerance, peace and wisdom. He stressed that no minority lives in the Slovak Republic under permanent pressure of the dominant population and that the existence of no minority is threatened. He said that the Slovak state and society are ready to discuss minority problems.

Csemadok is a cultural civic organisation in Slovakia founded in 1948 under the name of the Cultural Society of Hungarian Employees in the Czechoslovak Republic. It took the name Csemadok—the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia—in 1990. Through its 504 branches, Csemadok associates about 95,000 members. The goal of its 17th General Assembly is to adapt the union's regulations to the new conditions which have arisen after the appearance of the independent Slovak Republic.

SNS Plans To Emerge as Opposition Force

LD0304172693 Prague CTK in English 1626 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 3 (CTK)—The leadership and Central Council of the Slovak National Party (SNS) announced at the conclusion of its two-day meeting today in the east Slovak village of Spisska Nova Ves that it planned to emerge as an open opposition force.

The party's Central Council adopted a document called a new alternative for the Slovak Republic which it will present, along with other materials, at the SNS congress April 23-24. SNS Executive Deputy Chairman and Slovak Parliament Deputy Anton Hrnko told CTK today that the SNS leadership met to decide on a new platform and programme.

He said the SNS wants to define itself as a right-of-center modern democratic party, oriented towards supporting small and mid-sized entrepreneurs. Hrnko said representatives from the SNS and the party of Slovak Entrepreneurs held talks on Friday to devise steps for closer cooperation.

Hrnko said the SNS was willing to hold talks with other political parties, including any party which might be organised by former Slovak Foreign Minister and former Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Deputy Chairman Milan Knazko.

Funds To Modernize Army Lacking

AU0404195093 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by Juraj Alner: "The Army Lacks Means"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovakia is gradually penetrating the military structures of the unifying Europe. This not only means that our wish is being fulfilled but also brings about new problems, which we will have to solve by means other than those we have at our disposal. This is what resulted from a news conference with the Slovak Republic Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak yesterday, after his return from Brussels.

The meeting of the defense ministers of the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation (NACC) was an opportunity for a meeting of the Visegrad Four [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] defense ministers. They confirmed their mutual willingness, or even need, to cooperate and to take, in certain cases, joint steps. Bilateral talks will follow. Czech Defense Minister Baudys will come to Bratislava in the middle of next week to sign several treaties with his Slovak partner. Then the Slovak and Hungarian ministers will meet. A treaty on cooperation is being prepared.

The Slovak Republic joining NATO does not seem to be a current issue. It is necessary to fulfill several political and economic conditions. Above all, Slovakia must not be viewed as a place of potential danger or problems of any kind, as NATO is not able to solve more potential problems. The Slovak Republic must also achieve such an economic level as to be able to independently support the financial costs required for coordination. According to Andrejcak, today we are not able to coordinate military technology. This year, we will not be able to buy "even a bicycle," the minister said.

Negotiations with Russia are also linked to that problem. Russia wants to repay a part of its debt in spare parts for the army. If this materializes "we will use this opportunity to improve, as much as possible, the combat readiness of our army. But the quantity of the deliveries must not exceed the limits set in the Vienna accords," he stressed. This applies to us, and to Hungary, he said regarding deliveries from Russia. According to him, Hungary is not exceeding these limits.

One of the agreements of the Visegrad countries is the possibility to manufacture spare parts within the framework of the Visegrad Four. Whoever has appropriate technology will also manufacture for the remaining three, to reduce dependence on Russia. The technology used so far, mostly of Russian origin, has a life span until 2000 and 2005. None of the four has money to replace this with Western technology.

When asked whether we are going to send a sapper unit to Bosnia, the minister said that they had discussed sapper units within the UNPROFOR framework, but they applied to actions in which the units do not take part in combat, but are rather assisting the native people. In Brussels, they also spoke about new activities and the possibility of intervening in combat actions. This is why Slovak representatives are inclined to send a sanitary unit. The National Council of the Slovak Republic will have to make the final decision.

Foreign Trade Minister Views Market Protection

AU0204194693 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Apr 93 p 7

[Interview with Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, by Jozsef Peter; place and date not given: "EC-European Free Trade Association: $300 Million Allowance—Extension of Exports—With Question Marks"]

[Excerpts] Hungarian economic diplomacy has made use of all possibilities that are presently being offered by the European system of agreements. Our task now is to implement our international agreements. However, we have not at all exhausted the possibilities of domestic export incentives, Bela Kadar says. Our correspondent interviewed Kadar after the agreement with the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] was made. [passage omitted]

[Peter] As trade is becoming freer, voices demanding increasing industry and market protection are also becoming stronger. In your view, how well-founded are these demands?

[Kadar] As a result of import liberalization, importers, rather than exporters, have become rich in Hungary. The political representation of import interests was also more marked than that of the producers. In addition, the financial sphere was also interested in an economic policy that suppresses the inflationary pressure through import competition. Liberalization and the exchange policy of revaluations are both fighting tools against inflation. However, good economic policy always requires the parallel implementation of several goals. Therefore, the issues of economic growth, price stability, employment, and foreign economic ties would have to be coordinated at the same time. However, very few countries manage to do this. When the economic policy only concentrates on one issue—be it employment, growth, improving the balance, or price stability—then a boomerang effect can be expected in achieving the other goals. In 1992, we managed to reduce inflation but we paid a big price for this because production and employment decreased more than was necessary. In the absence of countering factors, cheap imports squeezed out domestic products from our market. This resulted in decreased domestic production, some of the employment opportunities disappeared, the budget revenue decreased, and certain political and social tensions emerged. Now the pressure can be felt from the other side, namely market protection. Naturally, the Hungarian economy has market protection tools that allow us to employ adequate market protection measures in case of disturbing circumstances—for example, large-scale inflow of imported goods, dumping prices, use of budgetary support—and to apply customs duties to balance the prices, or to use levies or other measures.

[Peter] These kinds of requests seems to have increased lately.

[Kadar] This has many reasons. Producers do not always know the reasons of their marketing problems. Seeing the imported goods, they can easily come to the conclusion that import competition is the number one enemy. Not all of them do economic analyses. It is undoubtedly true that a large proportion of Hungarian producers are now in a difficult position. However, this could also be due to many factors: the disappearance of eastern markets, outdated production structure, low compatibility, the weakening of domestic markets, exchange policy of revaluations and the ensuing profitability, the effects of the bankruptcy law.... Import competition also belongs to this list but it is only one of the many factors. The advocates of market protection forget that market protection measures can only be made in very justified circumstances and by observing international rules and contractual obligations. In practice, this means that all governments have only a very narrow margin for taking such measures.

[Peter] In a recent speech you also blamed Hungarian banks for not being willing to finance exports.

[Kadar] I only tried to analyze the actual situation realistically. The sums provided by Hungarian banks for financing exports actually decreased in 1992 by about 4 percent. This is in itself an unfavorable phenomenon because the credit needs of exporters have increased a lot over the past three years. Today, all our East European partners have limited financial resources. Machinery export to developing countries is also impossible without loans. If the adequate financing possibilities are missing, then the export of engines declines. This is well shown by the decrease of Hungarian exports to developing countries. Although it has already been set up, the Export Guarantee Inc. is not fully operational yet and, without it, it is very difficult to deliver investment goods or be main contractors in a project. As a result, the perspectives of banks may also be unfavorable. At the moment, financing the budget by various short-term loans is undoubtedly an attractive option. However, it is a general experience that banks follow international trade and finance it. When exports decrease, banks also suffer. Three years ago, we suggested that banks play a bigger role in the Hungarian economy's structural renewal, in integrating the domestic market, renewing the dying trade and cooperation between East- Central European countries, establishing new type banking services that create additional value, and help new enterprises. All this is needed partly because of the need for loans in Eastern Europe and because small enterprises give the bulk of Hungarian exports at the moment and they cannot compete on the world market without adequate credit facilities. Therefore, financing trade and modern banking services can contribute to making the Hungarian economy—including exports—more dynamic, but this is at the same time a precondition to extending the markets of banks.

Jeszenszky Regards U.S. Trip as Successful

LD0404113793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister regarded his nine-day unofficial visit to the United States as successful and productive. Geza Jeszenszky spoke about this on his arrival at Ferihegy Airport and pointed out that the world was expecting the United States to put an end to the general recession by sorting out its economy, as a result of which recovery might start again. According to the Hungarian foreign minister, the peoples of the world trust that America will protect the new democracies, try to make the Russian—American accord stable, and promote peace in the southern Slav region.

Minister Latorcai on Investment Needs

AU0504092993 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Mar 93 pp 1,7

[Interview with Janos Latorcai, minister for industry and trade, by Zsuzsa Regos; place and date not given: "Development on Back Burner—New Bids Will Be Invited in the Coming Days"]

[Text] Up to now, the annually decreasing tax on enterprises has been a source for research and development, and the central budget, struggling with the deficit, has always taken away some of the revenue. This is how we arrived at the point that in 1992 when only 0.8 percent of gross domestic product [GDP] could be used for research and development. Therefore, during the parliamentary debate on the 1994 budget, the Industry and Trade Ministry, in coordination with the National Technical Development Committee [OMFB], wishes to introduce its new proposals on acquiring resources to replace the old methods.

According to the OECD, in Europe only Portugal, Greece, and Turkey spend less on research and development than Hungary. Janos Latorcai maintains that the situation became unbearable in 1992 due to the constantly decreasing financial resources, a process which began in the mid-1980's.

[Regos] It is laid down in the industry policy concept that, starting from 1994, some 1.5 percent of GDP should be spent on research and development. Is this what your ministry and the OMFB are lobbying for at the moment?

[Latorcai] It is our conviction that, without this, talking about how to end the crisis or about the possibilities of catching up with Europe would be a waste of time. Guaranteeing 1.5 percent of GDP is of vital importance for us.

[Regos] According to the industry concept, you wish to increase this proportion every year. Until what point? Where is the limit that is acceptable both for the budget and for industry?

[Latorcai] We are not primarily thinking in terms of sums. Our goal is to make the central fund for technical development that can be disbursed through bids independent of the central budget. This can only be based on the amount of the GDP. As a first step, we want Parliament to change the method of accruing assets for the Central Technical Development Fund [KMUFA]. Up to now, the central funds were determined as 4.5 percent of the taxes on enterprises, which seems rather ridiculous during an economic slump. We all know that a large proportion of enterprises have become unprofitable by now and bankruptcy and liquidation proceedings have been started against many of them. According to statistical surveys, spending on development has decreased to a third of the previous level in the past three to four years. This is an untenable situation. In the first two months of the year, engineering industry was able to increase its exports by as much as 20 percent. If technical development does not increase above the low level of 1992 then producers will become uncompetitive on the foreign markets and even their survival will be in danger.

[Regos] Quite a few enterprises have been able to receive support from the development funds that can be won through submitting bids to the OMFB. Will the conditions for submitting bids remain the same or will they change?

[Latorcai] It is a popular view that we should provide equal support to all areas of the economy from the funds. It is true that we have had certain priorities. However, we can only define the criteria for distributing the funds by bearing the industrial strategy in mind. Therefore, in accordance with the government's recently accepted concept and in coordination with the OMFB, we definitely have to redraw the conditions for the bids.

[Regos] How will these conditions change?

[Latorcai] Together with the OMFB, we will draw up a program structure and will make the various projects compete within this. If there is sufficient market demand for the product that is to be the result of development and if the banks consider the entrepreneur creditworthy then our ministry will also contribute to the central funds from its own resources. Our own funds earmarked for technical development amounted to 200 million forints in 1992 and this year they are 250 million forints. We have a new method in 1993, namely that we apply interest allowance [bonifikacio] in the case of business enterprises considered to be good. This means we will pay the portion of the interest above 13 percent when the entrepreneur takes on a medium or long-term credit for development. It is a new factor that the Corvinbank will not be solely responsible for arranging the financial matters relating to the bid invitations that we make together with the OMFB but any bank will be able to get involved in lending money.

[Regos] When will you announce the conditions for the 1993 bids?

[Latorcai] In the coming days and the deadline will be 30 June.

[Regos] As far as I am aware, some conflict has developed between the ministry and the OMFB regarding work sharing.

[Latorcai] We basically agree on changing the methods of accumulating the central funds and in the priorities. The only differences of opinion we have are on the time of distributing the funds. Naturally, it is more urgent for the Industry Ministry to spend as much and as soon as possible for applied research from the 7.5 billion forints we have at our disposal in 1993. In 1994, according to our calculations, some 22 billion forints will have to be available for research and development. The KMUFA will be the larger part of this and we have to acquire the rest from privatization incomes. Some 10 percent of the some 100 billion forints privatization revenue will be available for the reorganization and improvement of enterprises. In addition to development, reorganization also indirectly helps technical development.

[Regos] The KMUFA is one of the many dozens of funds. Do you think that industry that is to be supported will be lost between all these supporters?

[Latorcai] I am certain that some of the funds will sooner or later have to be joined together because the money and the effort of disbursing it is very fragmented in the current situation.

[Regos] What will happen to the research institutes?

[Latorcai] We want to organize our 17 research establishments into a national network that we will maintain through a fund. Through their work, the institutes will be able to link up with the regional development centers. We have to establish close cooperation with the local governments in order to clarify the issue of financing. In addition, we propose that, similarly to the developed countries, a research university be established in Hungary. As a matter of fact, three research centers will be established with the help of the Zoltan Bay Foundation in 1993. The material technology basis will be in Budapest, the production technology and logistics center at Miskolc Technical University, and microbiology will be in Szeged.

More Economic Ties With Russian Regions Sought

LD0204192493 Budapest MTI in English 1832 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, April 2 (MTI)—Due to the shrinking central resources in Russia, Hungary seeks to build greater economic ties with Russia's regions instead of with just the centre, Hungarian International Economic Relations Ministry Deputy State Secretary Lajos Berenyi said after talks in Moscow over the past few days.

Speaking to Hungarian journalists on Friday, Berenyi said opening up the regions is necessary because of the lack of Russian central resources, which has caused trade to gradually pass over to local governments. As an example, he cited a contract whereby Hungary is to deliver nearly 3,500 Ikarus buses to Russia, the majority of which are for regional orders.

Berenyi said that within Russia, Hungary's largest trade partners are Tatarstan, Bashkiria and the Komi Republic. Bilateral trade with Tatarstan and Bashkiria together amounts to an annual USD 500 million. Of the countries in the former Soviet Union, apart from Ukraine, Hungary has established the closest ties with Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Belarus.

Berenyi regretted that Hungary's agricultural exports to Russia will total only USD 300-400 million this year compared to USD 600 million in 1992. Although Russian demand is unchanged, he said, Hungary's agricultural output has dropped considerably. Hungary, however, seeks to keep the total of its exports at USD 1.3 billion, the 1992 level. The loss of agricultural export is expected to be compensated for by an increase in the export of buses, medicine and other products.

Berenyi said an agreement has been reached regarding the details of Russian repayment of the USD 1.7 billion debt to Hungary. Under the agreement, Russia is to repay half of the sum, about USD 800 million, within three years at a 3.5 percent interest rate. Furthermore, the Russian side said at the talks that, after lengthy debates, Moscow has raised the resources to cover military deliveries making up the repayment of the remaining half of the debt. This month, experts of the two countries may start coordinating lists of the products to be delivered by Russia, Berenyi reported.

Sejm Rejects No Confidence in Lewandowski

LD0204224593 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 2—The Sejm (lower house) on Friday [2 April] rejected the no-confidence motion against Privatisation Minister Janusz Lewandowski and examined the revised government proposals for the Mass Privatisation Programme, but decided to vote on it on Saturday.

The motion to dismiss Lewandowski, who was charged with having allowed "unhealthy tendencies" to arise in the privatisation process, was supported only by 147 deputies, while 175 deputies backed the minister, and 51 abstained. This has been already the second time that the Sejm considered a motion of no-confidence against Lewandowski as the privatisation minister. The motion was put forward by the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN).

Recommending the new programme, Lewandowski told the chamber that its essence remained unchanged compared to the draft proposals rejected by the Sejm two weeks ago. He stressed that the key goal of the programme is to create conditions for better management of several hundred enterprises and at the same time to implement the government's obligations in respect to employees of the public sector and pensioners.

Under the new privatisation scheme only 200 enterprises would be privatised in the first stage and the remaining 400 would be transformed later. The first version envisaged privatisation of 600 enterprises.

Speaking of changes made in the programme, Lewandowski said shares of 200 enterprises would be handed out through national investment funds to employees of the public sector and pensioners. In addition, employees of the privatised enterprises would receive 15 per cent of shares (and not 10 per cent as previously planned) while the national investment funds boards would include Polish citizens. The changes were introduced following Sejm debates and consultations with political parties.

In the Friday debate, deputies from the main coalition caucuses warned against using the Mass Privatisation Programme as a card in political games. Jan Krol of the Democratic Union (UD) said that "the privatisation calls for an agreement between the coalition government and the opposition parties." Leader of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and former Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak claimed that the proposed privatisation scheme is a "make-believe programme."

At a press conference later in the day another former prime minister, leader of the opposition Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) Jan Olszewski said that privatisation principles and directions should be subject to a nationwide referendum, along with the final shape of the electoral law and the vetting process. He claimed that the favourable vote for Lewandowski is a result of "changed political alignment" in the Sejm, with the postcommunist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) being a "silent participant" in the ruling coalition.

Also on Friday, the chamber rejected the deputies motion to recall Andrzej Kern as Sejm deputy speaker. The charges against him levelled by SLD and part of UD and several other caucuses included "the existence of public accusations against his abuse of office, and against his moral character." The motion was dismissed by the vote of 185 against 134, with 64 abstentions.

Proceeding with its legislative work, the Sejm adopted amendments to the law governing cooperatives and forwarded them to a respective Sejm committee.

The chamber elected three persons as members of the National Council for Radio and Television. They are: Andrzej Zarebski who was recommended by the Liberals (PPL), Boleslaw Sulik, a film director supported by UD, and the SLD candidate Marek Siwiec. The fourth member of the council will be elected on Saturday.

UD Deputy Jozefa Hennelowa expressed the caucus's concern over the information of the Foreign Ministry that due to lack of financial means no new diplomatic missions will be opened east of Poland. This concerns the Republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Georgia and Moldova.

Deputy Interior Minister Wlodzimierz Blajerski informed the house that invitations to citizens of the former Soviet republics wishing to visit Poland will be registered with the provincial governors office. The governor will have the right to refuse to register the invitation. The measure is design to control the flow of visitors from the East.

In another development, Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski told the Sejm Committee for Economic Policy, Budget and Finances that preliminary estimates of budgetary revenues in January and February, 1993, "do not indicate that the annual budget plan is threatened."

Suchocka Orders Closure of Pirate Radio, TV Stations

LD0404125893 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has tasked the prosecutor general with combatting pirate radio and television stations. Two days ago the State Radio-Communications Agency sealed the transmitter of the Gdynia "Teletop" television station and disconnected power to the transmitter belonging to the "Kopernikus" private television station in Olsztyn.

Misdemeanor Courts are proceeding against the heads of several dozen radio stations and more than 20 out of 31 television stations which are broadcasting programs without the necessary license.

From the moment the Broadcasting and Television Law came into force all private stations which do not hold a

license are broadcasting illegally. This excludes church broadcasting stations the status of which is regulated by the law on State-Roman Catholic Church relations.

The National Broadcasting and Television Council, which is currently being formed—will be responsible for granting licenses.

Newly Registered Parties Described

AU0204163093 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Mar 93 p 4

[PAP report: "A Party for Everyone"]

[Text] The Polish Party for the Renewal of the Country [Polska Partia Odnowy Kraju] is the 188th political party to be registered in Poland. Its leader is Deputy Antoni Czajka who, until now, represented Party 'X' in the Sejm, and is known for his rather unconventional speeches, to put it mildly. Twenty new parties have been registered since the beginning of 1993 alone, and another eight are awaiting registration.

The declared goal of Czajski's new party is "independence, the defense of the sovereignty of the Polish state, and activity for the sake of national accord." It will also strive toward "the country's rational development and the fulfillment of man's social and cultural aspirations."

The Polish Chivalry Party [Polska Partia Rycerska] wants to "eliminate the errors of history and stop politicians from various parties and groups abusing their power and distorting the commandments of God and the Gospels to further their own ambitions and achieve material gains."

The Polish Rock and Roll Party [Polska Partia Rock and Rolla] wants to "reestablish the basic values of our Mediterranean culture," which does not seem to fit in with its name. Its activists declare that they will aim to "guarantee the liberties of citizens and their personal safety." Needless to say, the basic goal of the Rock and Roll Party is to "propagate the idea of rock and roll as a life style connected with clear and simple thought."

At least two parties in Poland would like to see a return of the monarchy—the Royal Party [Partia Krolewska] and Kingdom of Poland Party [Partia Krolestwo Polskie]. The leading body of the first of them is known as the Council of Three, membership of which is hereditary "according to the principle of primogeniture." Should a member of the Council die and leave no male heir, his place can be taken by his eldest relation. The Royal Party says that it wants to "create a monarchy in Poland within the framework of the law in force."

The Kingdom of Poland Party would like to see a parliamentary monarchy "based on the British pattern, but with the retention of Polish national tradition." Its founders declare that a king of Poland will be chosen in a free election. The party leader bears the title "king of the party."

"The encouragement and comprehensive development of all initiatives aimed at increasing society's involvement in the active life of the Third Republic" is the rather enigmatic objective set by members of the Democratic Union of Fire Brigades of the Third Republic [Unia Demokratyczna Straz Pozarnych III Rzeczypospolitej]. In the party's statute, one reads that "the party's basic activity consists of ideological work for a Poland liberated from the communist yoke."

Another of the 188 Polish parties, the Party of Poles [Partia Polakow], "wants to represent all possible interests of the Polish people inside the Polish State and outside its borders." The party wants to "represent in the same way the interests of other ethnic groups which, for various reasons, have willfully and honestly linked themselves to the Polish nation and its culture." But the activity of the Party of Poles is not limited to Poland. The party assures us that it will champion the interests of the citizens of the world in accordance with existing international law. The party warns us that it will not be passive. It wants to influence the shape of the law "in order to improve the life of everyone in the world."

The Private Party of World Citizens [Prywatna Partia Obywateli Swiata] has adopted the slogan "Citizens of the World, Unite!" as its programmatic manifesto. It seems that only polyglots have a chance of belonging to this party, for one of its official languages is Esperanto.

The Independent Party of Poland [Niezalezna Partia Polski] has a rather straightforward program—"the attainment of the rule of law and parliamentary democracy." The party speaks out in favor of freedom of conscience and a tolerance of different forms of world outlook, and recognizes the distinction of ethnic minorities.

Dispute Over County Prefects Continues

AU0204195193

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1700 GMT on 2 April 1993 carries a 23-minute long newscast containing a series of items on the issue of the recent appointment by the Government of Romanian nationals to head the prefects' offices of Harghita and Covasna counties, in which the majority population is Hungarian.

At 1708 GMT two unidentified announcers read the statement issued by the Romanian Government rejecting the official protest of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR)—the political grouping representing the interests of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania—concerning the appointment of the prefects.

At 1711 GMT the announcer continues by reporting on the news conference held today by President Ion Iliescu's spokesman, Traian Chebeleu, who also comments on the issue. According "to the position of Romania's presidency," Chebeleu said, "the appointment of the prefects is a prerogative of the executive" and "fully legal," whereas "the protests and the agitation artificially created by the UDMR may be expressed in every way as long as it strictly observes the rules the state of law."

At 1712 GMT the announcers proceed to read a report filed by local correspondent Aurel Secelean from Sfintu Gheorghe, the Covasna county capital, on a protest rally organized there by the Covasna branch of the UDMR. According to Seceleanu, the rally protesting the appointment of a Romanian national prefect, Adrian Vlad Casuneanu, lasted for about 50 minutes, during which the several thousand protesters adopted a "protest message addressed to the presidency, the government, and international human rights organizations." The message says that "the Government has proved that it intends to reestablish dictatorial public order" and that "the demotion of public servants belonging to ethnic minorities is, without any doubt, one form of ethnic cleansing." The document concludes by highlighting the fact that the "Hungarian and Romanian" population of Covasna county "considers the government's recent measures discriminatory." Radio correspondent Secelean says he has also found out "from Covasna UDMR branch sources" that the series of protest actions will continue in that county by means of holding "local rallies."

At 1714 GMT the announcers report on the fact that Casuneanu, the recently appointed Covasna county prefect, has held a news conference, during which he rejected UDMR allegations about his former membership of the National Unity Party of Romania (PUNR). "I have never been a PUNR member," Casuneanu said. "I was merely a member of Vatra Romaneasca, and the first party I joined was the Democratic National Salvation Front." He termed the UDMR protests related to his appointment as "political terrorism," and points out that those protests do not express the opinion of the Hungarian population of the country, but rather that of "an insignificant part of the UDMR."

The announcers then proceed to report on the communique issued by the PUNR concerning the protests with respect to the appointment of the Harghita and Covasna prefects. After expressing hope "that the government will continue to reinforce Romanian administration in the counties of Covasna and Harghita, including by the appointment of Romanian national sub-prefects and general directors in the head of the two prefect's offices," the communique points out that "this is the only way to ensure the observation of Romania's Constitution and laws in those two counties." The PUNR communique also draws attention to the fact that currently "the Hungarian foreign affairs minister is making efforts to mislead U.S. public opinion by means of statements concerning alleged ethnic cleansing going on in Romania" while "the UDMR has no proof for its suggestion of ethnic cleansing in our country." The communique also says that the UDMR's efforts "are intended to create favorable circumstances for the Yugoslavization of Romania and that the Hungarian ethnic minority ought to isolate the extremist leadership of the UDMR and resist being dragged into suicidal actions."

At 1716 GMT the announcers report on a statement issued by the National Salvation Front (FSN), which reacts to certain assertions made by UDMR leaders during the news conference they held on 1 April. The FSN document highlights the fact that "in our opinion, using the term 'ethnic cleansing' with respect to the situation of an ethnic minority of our country is a lie, if one considers the way ethnic minority rights are observed in Romania, and it is also extremely dangerous in the context of the current international situation in our region." The FSN therefore "resolutely rejects using such terms" and points out that the goals of those who employ them is to "destabilize the democratization process and the development of democratic institutions in Romania." The 10-minute long series of news items related to the much disputed issue of the appointment of the Covasna and Harghita county Prefects conclude at 1718 GMT.

Government 'Surprised' by UDMR Protest

AU0204195093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 2 Apr 1993

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1993—The Government of Romania has taken note with surprise of the statements made and positions expressed by leading representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) in connection with the prefect appointments for the counties of Harghita and Covasna.

The statements distort realities and gravely misrepresent the Romanian Government's policy regarding the observance of the rights of persons belonging to ethnic minorities, they build up artificial and groundless internal tension, and are a source of incitement for some social groups, the government's declaration writes.

The Government finds as particularly groundless the UDMR's claims in its recent public statements about a so-called 'ethnic cleansing' in Romania. Such an irresponsible allegation is of a nature to cause serious prejudice to this country, with negative effects on all its population, including the members of the Hungarian ethnic community in Romania.

Moreover, such allegations keep up a tensional state totally unwholesome for the democratization and reform process Romania has embarked on.

The Government of Romania—the declaration further says—hereby reasserts that the act of appointing the prefects of the two counties is fully constitutional and entirely lawful. The appointment or recall of prefects is not an ethnic issue, it is a political decision incumbent on the government in keeping with the provisions of the Romanian Constitution and the public administration law. The prefects appointed by the government in the counties of Harghita and Covasna meet the professional requirements of such an office, both being lawyers and conversant with the legislation in force. Contrary to allegations made by UDMR leaders, the new prefects were born in the respective counties and speak the Hungarian language very well, which complies with European standards and the practice of other democratic countries in Europe.

The inhabitants of the two counties are duly represented in the local administration bodies, that is in the local councils and through their mayors in rural, urban, and county seat positions, subsequent to free and democratic elections. The appointment of the prefects reflects the exercise by the government of its constitutional prerogatives. For these reasons, the Government deems that the attempt to 'internationalize' such problems and use them as pretext for fostering artificial tension is nothing but a dangerous political game UDMR is playing, the Romanian Government's declaration concludes.

Nica Condemns UDMR Protest of Prefects

AU0304154093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1130 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/4/1993—"The position of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] on the appointment of prefects in the counties of Covasna and Harghita is a declaration of war to the Romanian state," the chairman of the Romanian Socialist-Democratic Party [PSDR], Cornel Nica, told a Friday, April 2, press conference.

"The power has to act accordingly", mentioned Mr. Nica. "UDMR has to be treated in a European way and be banned."

On another line of thought, the leader of the Socialist-Democratic Party opined that the draft budget had to be passed by urgent procedure, "to allow the government to work".

As concerns a possible visit by ex-king Michael in Romania for the Easter holidays, Mr. Nica said that the authorities should not let him enter the country, unless "he pledges, in a written statement, to recognize the present constitution and laws."

Newly Appointed Prefect Comments on UDMR Protest

AU0204191293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/4/1993—"My appointment as prefect is by no means connected with some 'ethnic cleansing'", told daily CRONICA ROMANA Adrian Casunean Vlad, the new prefect of Covasna County. On the contrary, he said, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania's [UDMR] stiff stand of allowing only a Hungarian ethnic as prefect may be taken for a tendency of ethnic cleansing.

Referring to his future activity, Adrian Casunean Vlad said that the citizens' legal rights, irrespective of ethnic, religious or political belonging would be paid utmost attention by the Prefect's Office. As for the implementation of the principles of local autonomy, the prefect said he started from the idea that all legal conditions had to be put in place for the full expression of autonomy, but not divorced from the government's policy materialized in the general management of public administration.

The recent appointment of new prefects in Covasna and Harghita Counties, where the majority population is Hungarian, has been the object of protests from the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania.

Forum of Democrats Examines Nationalism, Local Autonomy

AU0504053893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] The proceedings of the Forum of Democrats, organized by the Civic Alliance [AC], concluded this evening. The last point on the agenda was an analysis of the extremist-nationalist propaganda and its impact on Romania. The speakers, including Ana Blandiana, Laurentiu Ulici, Attila Verestoy, Gheorghe Ceausu, Gyorgy Tokacs, and Mihai Radulescu, emphasized the need to differentiate between extremism and nationalism and pointed out that exacerbated extremism is the diversion used by those in power to divert attention from the country's real problems. The speakers also noted that interethnic problems are primarily of a political nature and are—in Mrs. Ana Blandiana's opinion—the consequence of the action of conservative forces, who push the button of extremism whenever a crisis arises. It is up to our strength, humor, and common sense to combat them, Mrs. Ana Blandiana said in conclusion.

According to our reporter Elena Perdichi, Mr. Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], took the floor during today's debates on local autonomy. He reiterated the need for rapid economic and political decentralization and for the promotion of broad local autonomy. Referring to the issue of local budgets, he said that it would have been only natural that they should be passed before the national budget. Mr. Emil Constantinescu pointed out that the citizens do not know how the approximately 200,000 lei that each family is paying in to the state budget is distributed and spent. Mr. Emil Constantinescu suggested that the local budget and the packet of laws sanctioning the local autonomy be approved by open vote in Parliament, so that the voters can see for themselves how their interests are being protected by those whom they elected.

Educational Unions Stage Protest, Demand Pay Increase

AU0304194293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1326 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1993—Education unions staged a protest march in Bucharest Saturday, 3 April to express dissatisfaction at their salaries in the attempt to make the Romanian Parliament now debating the draft budget law, perceptive to the role of education in society and convince it to place education among national priorities.

The unions demand the 12 percent pay rise for all employees not only for teaching staff; object against the Education Ministry's tendency towards excessive centralisation of decision making; request the ministry to reconsider its plans for the shrinking of personnel.

A protesters' delegation handed a memorandum listing their claims to a government secretary of state.

FRG Environment Minister Arrives in Sibiu

AU0504054093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Mr. Klaus Toepfer, German federal environment minister, arrived in Sibiu this afternoon. He was met at the airport by Mr. Aurel Constantin Ilie, minister of waters, forests, and environment protection, other ministry representatives, high officials of the German Embassy and the German General Consulate in Sibiu, and local officials, including those in charge of environmental protection. According to our correspondent Adriana Frateanu, after a round of talks with members of the Greenpeace organization, German Government officials preparing the return to Germany of chemical waste stored in Sibiu County, members of the Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania, and representatives of local authorities, Mr. Klaus Toepfer met with a large group of reporters. The subject of the news conference was the toxic waste scandal and the German Government's behavior, without precedent thus far, to pay for the cost of returning the waste deposited in our country.

Government Discusses Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU0304152893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1729 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1993—The Friday, 2 April sitting of the Romanian Government approved the articles for the establishment of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism and [on the establishment of] the free port of Sulina. It endorsed the Romanian-Swiss convention on avoidance of double taxation of income and wealth.

The cabinet approved the mandate of the Romanian delegation to attend over 3-5 April in Odessa the conference on the protection of goods, as well as the protocol concluded with Albania for the building with Romanian assistance of a Romanian-language school, and the Romanian-U.S. military cooperation agreement which makes provision for a U.S. permanent special mission in Bucharest.

Serb Assembly Rejects UN-Proposed Maps

LD0204230093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2227 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bileca, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—In view of the fact that a large number of deputies of the people's assembly of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] have disputed the proposed resolution on the continuation of the peace process, which had been proposed for adoption, the session was interrupted at midnight and the proposal was returned to an assembly commission for redrafting.

The most disputed article in the proposed resolution is Article 3: "The proposed maps on the territorial demarcation are 70% to 80% acceptable and present a good basis for the continuation of the peace process in direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict."

A majority of the deputies demanded that the maps be rejected as a whole. In the end, however, a stance prevailed whereby the maps as a whole are not considered acceptable but can be used as a basis for direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict. In other words, deputies of the Serb republic support peace and negotiations, but not the maps as a whole in the way they have been proposed.

The deputies will discuss the proposed changed resolution tomorrow when the assembly session continues. It is scheduled for 0700 GMT.

Serb Leaders Address Journalists on Peace Plan

LD0304131693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Bileca, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—We have not given up the Vance-Owen plan, part of which is not disputed, but we are calling for opening up further possibilities for negotiations and for the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the national assembly of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] said at a news conference today.

We propose, Krajisnik said immediately after the conclusion of the Serb republic's parliament session, that we should resolve all disputed areas and issues in direct agreements with the Croats and Muslims. "After this session we will be calling on the cochairmen, Vance and Owen, to continue the work at the conference. We need peace and not a truce. We need an end to the war and for a just solution to be reached with full cooperation."

Asked what he expects the reaction of the international community will be to the declaration of the assembly of the Serb republic, president of the Serb republic Radovan Karadzic said that he presumes there will be further pressures, threats, and also perhaps sanctions against the Serbian nation as a whole.

The Serbs, Karadzic said, put these questions to the international community: "Why are the Serbs being asked to give their agreement to something when the Serbs are not giving it voluntarily? What is the value of agreements and signatures if they are elicited by pressures and threats and predictions of a catastrophic end for the Serbian nation? Such agreements are worth nothing and we will never sign anything that goes against us. If the international community considers that the Serbs should disappear, it has the instruments with which to attempt to realize this."

"We did not choose to go to war; it was imposed on us. We are for peace, but not at the price of the loss of dignity of the Serbian nation or a threat to its existence."

Asked whether the United States could change its stand on the issue of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic replied that the Americans have come to the conclusion that Bosnia-Herzegovina patched up in this fashion, and nations kept forcefully in a single country, cannot work.

President Clinton himself, Karadzic said, holds that it is out of the question that a plan can be accepted if it has not been accepted by all warring sides by their own accord. The Americans will probably return to the concept of three Bosnia-Herzegovinas, or to the self-determination of nations. We hold that the latter is better, Karadzic said.

As for the latest meeting of NATO commanders, Karadzic said in this regard that the most adequate thing to say is an old saying: "Idle folks have the most labor." According to him, NATO does not know what to do with itself following the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact. It should not be interested in Yugoslavia because it is not a NATO member. Even if some international troops are deployed on our territory they will only be troops that will come with the consent of the People's Assembly, never the forces of NATO or those asked for by the Muslims or Croats, Karadzic noted.

The ban on German aircraft overflying our territory is still in force, Karadzic said, recalling that Germany will react sharply to our declaration today and that it will be "nervous, angry, and brutal, as it has been so far."

Asked about agreements with the Muslims and Croats about certain disputed territories Karadzic said that Trebinje cannot be subject to any negotiation or any exchange because that municipality is purely Serb territory. That territory was seized in an action launched, not by the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina, but by the regular Croatian Army, and it must leave that territory immediately.

We should have talks and reach agreements, Karadzic believes, about all disputed territories, such as the Neretva River valley, the municipality of Kupres, the Sava River valley, Jajce, Donji Vakuf, that is, all those areas on which full agreement between the warring sides has not been reached.

Karadzic Addresses Deputies on Peace Plan

AU0204142193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Speech by leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic at the session of the assembly of the Bosnian Serb republic in Bileca—live]

[Text] Allies are today firmly holding onto Germany... [words indistinct owing to superimposed introduction by unidentified announcer] ...the case of Czechoslovakia in 1938 is well known. The fate of Czechoslovakia in 1938 is currently unfortunately being shared by the Serbian nation and its state, who are resisting the ruthless creation of the new world order. The media campaign, which is without precedent in history, the unbelievable distortions of the truth, the lies, and the falsifications have resulted in such a great vilification of the Serbian nation that its destruction has been justified in advance in the conscience of people worldwide. Anyone who fires on the Serbs can expect praise and applause. The vilification of the Serbs is the greatest crime since World War II. After great sacrifices we, the Serbs—just like the Jews, the Armenians and other nations—must introduce zero tolerance of anti-Serbian sentiments. The entire Serbian nation will have to react to the very first racist signs of anti-Serbian sentiments, to prevent such a degree of hatred and vilification ever happening again.

Besides Germany, the greater Turkish interests and Iran's fundamentalist campaign are also being implemented on our territories. Turkey is striving to become a regional power and to bring all the countries of this region under its control. Turkey's imperial dreams are no longer being concealed. They have turned into the guiding spirit of present Turkish policy. Although the Muslim leadership is openly fundamentalist, the Muslim maps of our territories are Turkophile [sentence as heard]. This demonstrates how Iran's interests in the proliferation of fundamentalism and Turkey's interest to return to Europe as an empire are (?interwoven) in these events.

The creators of the new world order like to sacrifice the freedom and independence of minor nations for the interests of their allies—regional powers. The creators of the new world order are hasty and very anxious to take advantage of Russia's weakness in obstructing the establishment of any sort of balance that would prevent their obstinacy. The fierce attacks on the Serbian nation and its rights in the case of Germany have revanchist undertones. However, others of Germany's allies are puzzled that a small nation is defending itself with so much force. It is not easy to explain that our national defense is actually the last line of defense. The fighters of the new world order on the territories of former Yugoslavia have relied on fascist forces in Croatia and fundamentalist forces in Bosnia. The Serbian nation recognized its executioners from World War I and World War II in these forces that incorporated their genocidal intentions against the Serbs with the interests of the creators of the new world order.

Our resistance against this new world order is, therefore, not motivated by our political disagreements with the order, but by our realistic existential fear of genocide and annihilation. The Serbian fighters do not fight with such superhuman efforts against the stronger enemy because they are opposed to American dictates or German expansionism, but because they are literally defending their wives and children, their homes and graves. We do not need the corridors and the continuity of the Serbian territories because we want every inch of our land, but because we live in a hostile environment that is for the third time this century relying on the interests of the European powers and craftily incorporating its interests in the extermination of the Serbian people on these territories into their interests.

So under such international circumstances your delegation has participated in the talks on peace and the transformation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a future community of three sovereign and equal nations and their constituent units.

We express all our compliments and gratitude to the mediators in these talks, firstly to Lord Carrington and ambassador Cutilheiro [former Conference on Yugoslavia chairmen], and to Mr. Vance, Lord Owen [current Conference on Yugoslavia chairmen], Ambassador Ahtisaari [head of Geneva conference working group in Yugoslavia], to Mr. Bartholomew [US envoy to New York talks] and our dear guest, Mr. Churkin [Russian envoy to New York talks], representatives of the United States and Russia. The said international situation and the bias of the leading international factors have to a great degree limited the scope of the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, despite the partiality of the international community, the conference has survived through a long and difficult period, and thanks to the cochairmen, it has achieved significant progress.

It has been established that Bosnia-Herzegovina is not possible as a unitary state. The tripartite character of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been established, the state-forming character of all three nations, parity in joint bodies, and consensus in deciding on matters of common interest. The territorial partition and the state reorganization of territories of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is still based on primarily ethnic principles. It has been agreed that the majority of state functions will be carried out in the provinces, that is, regions, that is, by their bodies.

The educational system, the system of information, judiciary, health service, tax policies, the policy on land exploitation, on exploitation of resources, development policies, internal affairs, in other words, everything that concerns the livelihood of our people will be in the authority of our state bodies. If some joint central bodies are established, and the conference envisages that, then

they will deal only with what concerns two or three ethnic communities. Of course, the Muslim side as the most numerous, alone or in coalition with the Croatian side, will try to strengthen the functions of the central authorities, and secure the patronage of international factors over such a Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to make it once again a unitary state under Muslim domination. However, we have the will and the instruments to prevent that. Such an attempt to establish strong central authorities has already happened in the proposal for the arrangement for the transitional period. That is the fourth document, even though at the start only three documents were agreed on. It was one of the reasons your delegation could not accept the document, which returned everything to the positions we know. What is totally unacceptable to us is the reconstruction of the bodies we know so well, such as the presidency, or a coalition government, to which even the same people are put forward as candidates.

We have our own state bodies for the transitional period. At this stage, we can only have a transitional coordinating commission with the other two sides, a commission that would provide for the minimum of joint functions until a constitution is adopted, which, as is envisaged, has to be adopted by consensus and not by majority vote.

There is also no continuity for us between the Bosnia-Herzegovina that forced us out of Yugoslavia, and then attacked us and declared war on us, and some future creation that can be formed only by a voluntary association of the three ethnic entities and their constituent units.

(?To what extent) this association is voluntary can be seen from the review of the international situation that we have heard. For the Serbian side, this is not voluntary but forceful; it is voluntary only under quotation marks. We do not want to conceal that. Our real interest was something completely different. Our interest was, above all, to remain in Yugoslavia. Our real interests also focused on some other options, which we had full rights to but were temporarily hampered in realizing our rights. Our major shift away from our basic interests toward the international community's demands at this moment, expressed at this conference, represent compromises by the Serbian side that are incomparably greater than the compromises by the Croatian or Muslim sides, something that the international community must appreciate and stop exerting further pressures on us and particularly on Yugoslavia and the entire Serbian people. In any case, the state and legal continuity of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not exist for us. However, we are not going to be satisfied with this stance of ours merely being written down in the minutes; it should be accepted and admitted to be a fact.

Everything included in the constitutional principles and the military paper makes it possible for us to conclude a permanent and just peace, as well as realizing a large part of our national aims, and above all protecting our national identity and personality, our cultural traditions, education, and political and economic freedoms, so this is why we have adopted and signed these documents. To put it more precisely, these documents would ensure all these listed things for us under the condition that all our rights are territorially realized so that we can receive correct maps of geographic borders with the other two national communities. To our regret, these maps are still insufficiently just for us to be able to accept them. True, a large part of the maps is acceptable and undisputable: Some 70-80 percent of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has been correctly apportioned to one of the three national communities, which completely negates the claims that Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be divided along ethnic lines. If such a large percentage of the maps are acceptable and undisputed by any side, then we think that the conference has achieved a significant success in the sphere of maps as well: very little lacks for it to be a complete success.

The question now is whether this small percentage of uncoordinated maps is a sufficient reason for an escalation of international and possible military interference: the danger [word indistinct] of the war spreading over the entire region and the continent. Unfortunately, the importance of the uncoordinated part of the maps for the Serbian people in the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the republic of Serbian Krajina, as well as for the entire Serbian people, by far extends its volume.

Above all, the territories of the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are torn apart, although they possess all the conditions for being a valid geographic and communicational continuity. In this way, it is proposed to create several Nagorno-Karabakhs—that is, several islands in which Serbs would be isolated and dependent upon a hostile neighborhood. Unfortunately, we must assume that after this bloody civil war, we shall have tense relations for a long time. These Serbian islets would always be a cause of a permanent tension and even wars, and it is a great question whether physical survival of the Serbs in this territory would be possible at all. Although we posses 64 percent of the land and are the majority population, even after the genocide in the World War II, we occupy about 65 percent of the territories of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The present maps envisage that we should occupy only 43 percent of the territories.

However, as we have said, our objections do not concern the size of the territory, and not because of the size, but the structure and importance of the Serbian regions that are being taken away from us in these maps and handed over to others. Apart from the fact that our regions are being taken away from us, regions that connect our territories, and our entire territory with Yugoslavia, other regions that are equally important for our existence are also being taken away from us. The deltas of all the more important rivers in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are being given to others, even though the territory on one side of these rivers is mostly or completely Serbian.

So it has been envisaged that we should live far from the fertile river valleys, even though we own some of them.

It has been envisaged that others can fully enjoy the powerful electric power stations that have been built with our common means, in which the participation of the Serbian people—considering the national structure and educational structure of the employees since the war—was over 50 percent. Both banks of the rivers Neretva, Bosna, Una, Drina, part of the basin of the River Vrbas and the Sana would be entirely cleansed of Serbs. The acceptance of the maps as they are now would represent unprecedented ethnic cleansing.

Some of the proposed borders of the provinces reach some 10 important mines that are on Serbian territory. In some places the borders are designed in such a way that they include in Croatian and Muslim provinces some extremely Serbian cities, which, before the genocide, were 80 percent Serbian and which, before this war, were Serbian despite the forged signatures. [sentence as heard]

Because of all this, our delegation has not signed the entire Vance-Owen plan, and that is why we have returned to this esteemed assembly for new authority and for an evaluation of our performance so far. We have to tell you that we have worked all the time under unprecedented pressure. The media campaign has always been skillfully timed to destabilize and frighten us, and that is how we know that governments influence the media more than the other way round. That shattered our illusion that independent media existed in the world. The encounters with representatives of the international community and certain important countries were full of catastrophic prognostications of Serbian suffering and the disappearance of the Serbian people and their state unless we accepted what was on offer.

The overall atmosphere in New York disqualified that beautiful city entirely as a host for such conferences. However, the schemes of those who were frightening us with the fate of our people and our personal fates have been totally fruitless, just like all the schemes concerning the Serbian people throughout the centuries have been fruitless because they were always confronted by the determination and the will of a people of the kind they have never met before. We assure you that we made all the decisions as if there were no pressure.

The threats of the powerful international factors are not empty. Many of them, particularly those that concern our brothers in Yugoslavia, have already been implemented. The injustice inflicted by the sanctions against the people in Yugoslavia represents a disgrace to the international community, and one of the many dangerous precedents that have been made on our account. Many countries in the world express concern for their own fate since they could find themselves suffering the blows of the new world order. No one has the strength to stop this dangerous plunge of the international community, and the adoption of the resolution by the United Nations, and the violence in abolishing international [word indistinct] rights. [sentence as heard]

The adoption of the resolution allowing the use of force in the no-fly zone represents a further increase in lawlessness, prejudice, and oscillation in relations among countries and peoples.

We are being threatened with further tightening of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. We are being threatened with unilateral arming of the Muslims. We are being threatened with direct involvement in the clashes on the side of our enemies. Our defeat is being craved for. They are threatening to bomb our positions, even send land forces to our region.

If we do not accept the orders of the international community, we must assume that the majority of these threats, or even all of them, will be carried out. We must not fool ourselves into thinking that violence will not be used against us. The history of our people is a history of violence against us, and a history of our resistance to violence. There is no page in our history about our conquest of others and our violence against others.

If you look at the map of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is obvious that we control only our areas and that we have not been conquering other people's lands. Therefore, me must expect that there will again be a sufficient number of illogical, powerful people who would want to attack the Serbian people. Despite the fact that we know that God's justice would prevail in the end and that we would finally win, we must bear in mind the fact that before that victory our people would be experience yet another Golgotha and serious torture. The people must know this, and must decide themselves and through their representatives whether to accept these orders and expose themselves to the danger of losing their dignity, freedom, rights, and finally their land, or whether they will resist the orders and persevere in the struggle for their rights and just deserts.

All the mighty powers of the world are against us. Only God is with us, (?then) our brothers in Yugoslavia, the Serbian Krajina, our friends the Russians, Greeks, Romanians, Bulgarians, and other Orthodox peoples. Other peoples understand us and sympathize with us, including the Spaniards, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. This understanding and sympathy are more present among the people however, then among their governments. None of our friends are able to put us under effective protection from the local fundamentalism and fascism which the powerful Western factors are using to accomplish their goals in this region, by waging war via mediators and without dirtying their own hands.

As the representatives of the people, you have the most difficult task, namely to decide which way we shall go further. As a delegation, we are obliged to present several proposals on our course of action in the near future. We propose that we say thank you to Vance and Owen who, despite the pressure from the international community, remained for a long time against the use of force and who

brought the conference to this point, which perhaps facilitates the total success in direct talks among the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. It is clear to us that our people are not satisfied with the maps which have been offered. We do not know, however, what kind of pressure the cochairmen have been exposed to.

First, we propose that everything should be done to maintain the current cease-fire, which is continuing only because of the conscientiousness and discipline of the soldiers of the army of the Serbian republic, to continue it turn it into a lasting peace that would facilitate direct negotiations among the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims for the settlement of the remaining part of the issue concerning territory.

We propose that international parties be asked for support and mediation in direct negotiations with the Muslims and Croats. These negotiations would be based on the achievements made in the conference so far, particularly the maps agreed upon so far.

In these negotiations—along with the respect for the rights, needs, and priorities of all three constituent peoples—the maps would be improved further and brought to a point where they could be signed. In this way, the size of the territory in contention would be reduced from the present 20-30 percent to about 10 percent. We do not believe that the these peoples would continue their killing and destruction because of 10 or so percent of the disputed territory. Also, we do not believe that the international community would run the risk of using force and escalating a war that would take many soldiers' lives on both sides because of this 10 percent disputed territory. This solution would also be more acceptable from the feasibility point of view, because it would not require any presence of foreign troops, which we oppose anyhow.

These direct talks between the Serbs and Croats could also be used for resolving overall Serb-Croat relations, including relations between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia. We propose continuous direct talks among the three sides in the conflict. We do not understand how the Muslim leadership can claim that we can live together in a unitarian Bosnia-Herzegovina when we cannot meet together and agree on ending the bloodshed. The parties in the conflict should agree among themselves that they will punish criminals from their ranks according to the law. The Serbian side is assuming this obligation publicly.

Finally, we propose that we take a stand on the issue of punishment of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people in general. We think that the sanctions against Yugoslavia must be lifted. New sanctions should not be introduced, because the present ones are sufficiently unjust and unjustified. If the unjust punishment of the Serbian people continues, we should think again about whether we should continue to cooperate with those who are punishing us, or to choose our own path and realize our goals, which we have considerably modified because of our cooperation with the international community. What we have today, what we have achieved with our forces, without external help, is much more than what the international community is offering us. We realize that if the maps were sorted out fairly, however, we could realize our goals by temporarily abandoning some of them.

Since [the Battle of] Kosovo [in 1389], this moment is perhaps the most critical for the Serbian people. We must realistically evaluate all of the hostilities that we are facing, as well as all our forces, all resources of the Serbian people, before we take further steps.

The Serbian republic is the only state that has been created in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are holding the 26th Assembly session. This means that we have been holding Assembly sessions at least twice a month. Everything we did, we did according to the will of the people. If this is necessary, we can take other steps to win the support of the people. As the representatives of the people, we must now decide together on what the next step will be. We believe that we should choose a peaceful solution, but by no means at the cost of the dignity and freedom of the Serbian people.

Thank you. [applause]

Karadzic Says Only Maps Rejected, Not UN Plan

AU0304183093 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Risto Djogo on 3 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djogo] Mr. Karadzic, this was a very tumultuous session in which there were sharp polemics and sharp debates. However, at the end the deputies unanimously adopted a declaration on the continuation of the peace talks, not accepting what is not acceptable for the Serbian people. How do you assess the course of the assembly session, and will this help you in further negotiations?

[Karadzic] The course of the assembly session was completely democratic. We tried to speak in diplomatic language and to draft the declaration somewhat differently, but the political stage does not tolerate diplomatic language. The political language must be used on the political stage. The deputies were right in this.

People in the world may think that we have rejected the plan. We have not rejected it. We did not accept the maps. This was clearly stated in the declaration. I think that it was good that Mr. Churkin [special envoy of Russian President Yeltsin] was here. He could see that the leadership is not extreme and does not act according to its own whims. The leadership is interpreting the will of the people. The determination expressed by the deputies in fact reflects that of every Serb in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the Serbian republic [in

Bosnia-Herzegovina], the determination to create their own state and defend their identity.

[Djogo] Does this mean that your positions at the possible future continuation of negotiations will be even firmer and clearer, without closing the door to the negotiations but clearly saying that you cannot go beyond a certain minimum?

[Karadzic] I think that they will. Our positions are very firm, thanks primarily to the army of the Serbian republic and the people who have defended themselves. If we had not defended ourselves, no one would be talking to us. We have many opponents in the world. However, they cannot afford not to talk to the Serbs. The Serbs are the most important factor in all this crisis, and their interests must be acknowledged and accepted.

We will now most certainly put the international community in the position in which it will not be able to reject what we are demanding. We are now demanding—one stage of the conference is finished—we are demanding direct negotiations with the Croats and Muslims on the remaining disputable parts of the maps. If they cannot agree to that, how can they claim that Serbs, Croats, and Muslims can live together, when they cannot sit at the same table and reach an agreement?

We also have another way. If the international community is not able to secure direct negotiations and the completion of the process, the peace process, we must then take care of our interests and possibly chose some other option. For the time being we are staying in the peace process as the most cooperative and the most active member.

[Djogo] Thank you.

Karadzic Calls UN Resolution 'Great Misfortune'

AU0104200093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the presidency of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by correspondent Risto Djogo on 1 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djogo] Mr. Karadzic, is this resolution [UN Security Council Resolution No. 816], which was passed directly prior to the assembly of the Serbian people, an additional pressure on the deputies to adopt the unacceptable Vance-Owen plan, or could it be interpreted differently?

[Karadzic] If those who passed the resolution had this in mind, then they definitely do not know the Serbian mentality and they do not know that the Serbs will react in exactly the opposite manner, as this is yet another of the measures of deep injustice toward the Serbian nation. The international community is definitely exerting pressure on us to accept something that is unacceptable. I do not understand why they are pressing us to accept something that is not acceptable. If we are to be one side to an agreement, then the agreement should be acceptable for all three sides. Here we support Clinton's administration, which wants to accept only what was voluntarily accepted by all three sides. However, the resolution is definitely an act of hostility toward the Serbs. It multiplies the injustices done to us and I am afraid that it involves great risks for escalation and incidents that might result from it.

[Djogo] How do you explain the fact that only the downing of aircraft in the air is envisaged, and that the bombing of ground targets has been ruled out?

[Karadzic] This definitely reduces the risk of escalation and incidents, but it is still very dangerous, especially because it authorizes the UN members to fly in the Bosnian skies, while commiting hostile acts toward the objects flying above Bosnia. The question remains whether they will observe the ban on attacking ground targets. In short, the risk is slightly less because of this, and here we are grateful to Russia for its efforts. However, all in all, it is a great misfortune that this resolution has been passed.

[Djogo] Can this resolution result in the cease-fire, which is currently being observed to a great extent, being less observed from now on?

[Karadzic] We will not do anything to violate the cease-fire deliberately. We care about peace, and I can state that the Serbian side is most resolute in its efforts for the establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, as I have already said, whatever involves risks—and this resolution does involve risks—can result in violations of the cease-fire and a resumption of hostilities.

[Djogo] Thank you!

Mladic: 'World Not Mad Enough' To Intervene

AU0204154293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Interview with General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serbian army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Dragan Mihovic in Bileca on 2 April—recorded]

[Text] [Mihovic] How would you comment on today's NATO meeting in Brussels? What do you expect?

[Mladic] I have nothing to say, I just expect new pressures.

[Mihovic] Now you have confused me. Do you expect military intervention?

[Mladic] What military intervention? The world is not mad enough to fight alongside the ustashe.

[Mihovic] Can you be a bit more specific?

[Mladic] They are intervening enough by supporting, it is intervention enough that they supported the plan on the

destruction of Yugoslavia, and that it is still being carried out, and that they are still supporting the forces of Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman. When that support dries up, when that valve is closed, then the war will be over.

[Mihovic] What about the talks in New York?

[Mladic] We are not in favor of war. The war could stop now as far as we are concerned.

[Mihovic] So you, as a soldier, agree completely with the way the Serbian delegation behaved in New York, and with what has been said at the assembly today.

[Mladic] Well, of course, no one can behave outside the time he lives in. Times are hard, the burden is heavy, and the entire strength of Orthodoxy and the Serbian people have to bear the hardships of the times.

Izetbegovic Rejects Possibility of Direct Talks

LD0404194193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1913 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 4 (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic on Sunday [4 April] categorically rejected the proposal that ethnic borders in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic be agreed in direct talks between the three warring sides—Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

Izetbegovic told reporters in Sarajevo he would not agree to the direct talks proposed by Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs, saying "no, absolutely not," according to REUTER.

Izetbegovic's Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic told reporters that, if Serbs continued to refuse to sign the peace plan proposed by cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and David Owen, the United Nations should impose the plan and lift the embargo on arms deliveries to Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims.

The U.N. has imposed an embargo on arms deliveries to the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Under the Vance-Owen plan, Serbs, who are the second largest people in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and account for 31 percent of the population there, would get only a fifth the natural resources and, although they legally own 64 percent of the land, they would get only 43 percent of the territory. Moreover, nearly a half of Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs would have to live in Muslim and Croatian provinces, cut off from the Serbian provinces, and would have no territorial links with Serbia.

The proposal for direct talks was raised by the assembly of the Serbian republic in BiH which held a special session in Bileca, a small town in eastern Herzegovina, on Friday and Saturday.

Leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs Radovan Karadzic has urged the international community to uphold direct talks between the warring sides as a means of ending the one-year-long war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

'Bitter Fighting' Reported in Srebrenica

AU0204184893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Report by the Srebrenica War Presidency]

[Text] All day the barrages from heavy artillery in Serbia have been joining the murderous projectiles from tanks and mortars of all calibers from the occupied territories of (?Kragljivoda), Osmaci, and Brezani. Since 0600 this morning, the heavy infantry forces of the aggressor's army have been fiercely attacking this line and the industrial zone of Zeleni Jadar. There has been no respite in the bitter fighting for every inch of the free territory, but the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are for the time being successfully resisting the far superior enemy.

The aggressor has been pounding the defense lines in Likari, Caus, Budak, and (?Bljecevo) with deadly projectiles from recoilless rifles and howitzers from Kaolin and mortars from Bratunac and [word indistinct]. The interior of the free territory has been pounded from tanks from Njemic in Serbia. At 0900 this morning, the enemy attempted an infantry breakthrough but the members of the First Potocar Brigade repelled it successfully.

Serb Offensive on Srebrenica Reported

LD0304182293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Despite the agreed cease-fire, the aggressor is continuing its fierce offensive against Srebrenica. Combined artillery and infantry attacks are continuing unabated.

The aggressor infantry troops, supported by three tanks and four armored personnel carriers are attacking from the direction of [names indistinct] while infantry forces, which are burning and destroying everything in their path, are advancing from the direction of Segar from where heavy mortar fire was opened on Skenderovici.

The relentless shelling of Potocari and its vicinity claimed fresh civilian lives today: 8 people were killed while 14 sustained serious and light injuries. In this part of the Srebrenica battlefield the chetniks have been trying to shift the front line from the direction of Bratunac. Strong infantry forces of the regular army of the self-styled Yugoslavia are advancing rapidly, supported by fierce fire opened from tanks, howitzers, guns, and mortars of all calibres [words indistinct].

Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have been offering powerful resistance to the Serb aggressor and are firmly holding their positions while inflicting considerable losses on the enemy in manpower, materiel, and technical equipment.

The press center of the municipality of Srebrenica has filed this report for Bosnia-Herzegovina radio and television.

Wahlgren Tells Karadzic To Lift Srebrenica Siege

AU0504095793 Paris AFP in English 0948 GMT 5 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 5 (AFP)—The United Nations is to evacuate some 10,000 civilians from the besieged eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica, a spokesman announced Monday [5 April].

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman in Sarajevo, John McMillan, said 20 trucks would go into Srebrenica each day—carrying some aid—and evacuate wounded and ill, women with small children and elderly to Tuzla, some 90 kilometres (60 miles) to the northwest.

On Sunday, an eight-truck humanitarian convoy had delivered food to Srebrenica, but Moslem town officials had then refused to allow it to evacuate any civilians, according to Lyndall Sachs, a spokeswoman in Belgrade for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Bosnian officials have previously accused U.N. officials of aiding the Serbs in their "ethnic cleansing" campaign by evacuating the region's Moslem population.

Meanwhile, in Zagreb, the U.N. commander for the former Yugoslavia demanded Monday that Bosnian Serbs lift their siege of Srebrenica and respect the week-long ceasefire.

General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force for all of ex-Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), sent a letter to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic also demanding that he do whatever necessary to enable the deployment of three military observer teams and a UNPROFOR infantry company in Srebrenica.

The message, according to a copy obtained by AFP, demanded that Karadzic take "immediate" measures to apply the U.N.-brokered ceasefire that took effect March 28 and to lift the siege on the enclave, where people are starving and desperate after nearly a year's isolation from the rest of the republic.

The U.N. general told the Bosnian Serb leader he wanted to open a humanitarian road corridor between Srebrenica and Zvornik, a Bosnian border town just across the Drina River from Serbia, as well as an air corridor to evacuate wounded.

An official UNPROFOR communique meanwhile confirmed that a military "summit" of commanders of the three warring factions in Bosnia-Hercegovina was scheduled Tuesday at Sarajevo airport, which is a neutral zone.

The unprecedented meeting, to be chaired by Wahlgren, will discuss Measure to end the siege on both Srebrenica and the capital Sarajevo, the statEment said.

The U.N. general will also try to press for an agreement on opening roads thatwould be under U.N. command that would link Sarajevo to central, eastern and western Bosnia.

Srebrenica has been the focus of U.N. aid efforts in recent weeks to help the 60,000 residents and refugees crowded into the town, many living in the open and terrified Serbs will overrun the enclave any day.

Evacuation Ban Causes Unrest in Srebrenica

LD0404140793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Bratunac, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Today, at around 1400, when a convoy of eight UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner on Refugees] trucks was due to depart from Srebrenica, unrest broke out especially in front of the post office in Srebrenica. TANJUG has learned from reliable sources.

Local Muslim commander Naser Oric banned the evacuation of Muslims who wanted to leave Srebrenica for Tuzla, following which demonstrations against the Muslim authorities broke out. A large number of people gathered in the city center, especially in front of the post office, and loudly protested the policies pursued by Alija Izetbegovic and his followers.

UNHCR representatives have been trying to persuade the local authorities in Srebrenica to allow the evacuation of Muslim civilians. It is uncertain whether their efforts will bear fruit.

At the same time, representatives of the Muslim forces directed artillery and small-arms fire on areas through which the convoy was due to pass. Three shells fell in the Zuti Most area where eight empty UNHCR trucks were waiting to accept Muslims who were due to go to Tuzla.

Serbs Request UN Ban on German Overflights

LD0304145693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Bileca, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—The people's assembly of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] decided at today's extraordinary session in Bileca to send a request to the UN Security Council to ban German planes and pilots from flying over territory controlled by Serbian forces in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The request states that it is known that during World War II German armed forces carried out a genocide against the Serbian nation, and that traces of the crime are still present in the Serbian land. If this is not accepted, the request to the Security Council goes on to say, German planes will not be guaranteed safety.

The request for the ban applies also to German planes transporting humanitarian aid.

Serb Prime Minister-Designate Presents Program

LD0204161793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Knin, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—At a press conference held in Knin today, prime minister-designate of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Djordje Bjegovic presented basic elements of the government program, which will be presented to the RSK assembly soon.

According to him, the priority government task is to establish peace, but through victory, and then to start with public works, preventing smuggling, war profiteering, and all other forms undermining the RSK legal and economic system. [passage omitted]

He assessed UN Security Council Resolution 815 as a part "of a deliberate plan and ploy by European coalitions and dirty tricks by Vance and Lord Owen." The people should be allowed to vote on whom they want to live with at a referendum, Bjegovic stressed.

Asked to comment on relations with the Serb Republic with a view to today's session of its assembly, Bjegovic recalled joint sessions of the RSK and Serb Republic Assemblies held in Bosansko Grahovo and Prijedor, which adopted declarations on the unification of these two republics.

Talking about the composition of the future government, Bjegovic said it would be a government of experts.

Serbs Charge 158 People With War Crimes

LD0304204893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019 GMT 3 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Apr 3 (TANJUG)—The Interior Ministry of the Serb Republic (S.R.) announced on Saturday [3 April] that criminal charges were brought against a total of 158 persons, mainly Moslems and Croats, and several foreigners, who were suspected of committing war crimes against civilians and prisoners of war, the R.S. SRNA news agency reported.

The suspects, members of the 108th Brcko Brigade of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), were charged with killing 28 Serb civilians last September and 11 R.S. Army prisoners in March of this year. The announcement said the crimes took place in the Serb-controlled town of Brcko in the northeastern part of the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Out of 158 suspects, 148 have been identified and their names made public: 56 Moslems and 92 Croats. The remaining 10, the names or nicknames of whom are known, are believed to be from Germany (2), England (1), France (2), and from the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia (5, or, one Moslem, three Croats, one Serb), the SRNA agency said.

The announcement said that on September 14 of last year in the Serb villages around Brcko (Vitanovici, Bukvik Donji, Bukvik Gornji, Donja Skakava), the suspects killed 28 elderly and ill civilians and burned down around 300 houses. Three minors were among the killed.

Most of the civilians, the agency said, were shot to death with bullets in the head at close range, or were slaughtered. One aged man was massacred and then hung by the neck. There were cases, the agency said, when wives were forced to call in their husbands who were then captured and killed.

The announcement monitored by the SRNA agency said that members of the 108th Brcko Brigade of the HVO in the village of Boderiste (Brcko municipality), killed 11 of the captured 13 S.R. Army prisoners on March 8 of this year, since when nothing has been known about the fate of the remaining two prisoners.

In one exchange, the opponent side gave 11 massacred bodies of [words indistinct] soldiers, and, after identification, on some of the bodies it was found that both eyes were taken out, the jaws and collarbones broken, or that they were shot to death in the head or body from fire arms, the SRNA agency said.

Churkin Addresses Serb Republic Assembly

LD0204153993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bileca, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy minister of foreign affairs, addressed the deputies of the assembly of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina at 1400, as announced.

"I advised them to adopt a more constructive approach to negotiations," Churkin said briefly about his address to the Serb assembly.

Journalists and guests did not attend this part of the session of the Bosnian Serb assembly.

RS Army Deputy Staff Chief on Airdrops

93BA0766A Belgrade JUNOST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 93 p 9

[Interview with Brig. Gen. Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the Main Staff of the Armed Forces of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], by Jovan Janjic; date and place not given: "Parachute on Thin Thread"]

[Text] *I think that our arguments and publicly expressed positions at least partially contributed to the adjustments in the originally planned action (with regard to U.S. Air Force fighter plane escorts for the transport planes).... This*

is one of the rare precedents in history, where someone wants foreign military troops to come to the territory where his people live.

Brig. Gen. Milan Gvero, the deputy commander of the Main Staff of the Armed Forces of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], could serve as an example to many people of how to defend Serb lands and military honor. Before the war broke out in the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Gvero was working at the Federal Secretariat of National Defense in Belgrade, but his pride, which he brought with him from his native Mrkonjic Grad, did not allow him not to join his people when things were at their worst. Today, Gen. Gvero is one of the mainstays of defense in the Serbian Republic.

[Janjic] General, what is your assessment of the decision by U.S. President Bill Clinton to provide humanitarian aid to Muslims by air?

[Gvero] It is very hard to talk about a programmatic and [word indistinct] long-term action when it is just beginning. Making predictions can be a thankless business. However, speaking in principle about what could come next, I think that this decision is neither a fortunate nor a good solution. Looking at it realistically, it entails very great risks. This could lead to a widening of involvement by military potentials through no fault of the Serbs, but with actions directed against the Serbs. There could be unforeseeable consequences, because this could be a sort of prelude to military intervention. However, I must say that there is no need whatsoever, as far as the Serb side is concerned, for humanitarian aid to be delivered by air. Thus far, we have always permitted the movement of humanitarian convoys and the delivery of humanitarian aid. Everything that has gone thus far to territory under Muslim control has passed through our territory, including the airfields that we have turned over to UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force]. At the time when the biggest fuss was being raised over Cerska, on that very day convoys went to Tuzla, Sarajevo, Gorazde, and Zepa, and through Zepa those convoys were able to go to other Muslim areas as well. Convoys set out from the direction of Banja Luka. Thus, as far as the Serb side is concerned, there is no need nor reason whatsoever to supply humanitarian aid from the air, because we have not interfered with such actions in the past.

[Janjic] Thus, as you yourself say, this could be a prelude to foreign military intervention against the Serbs, who for months and even years now have been vilified in world public opinion through lies of unprecedented foulness!

[Gvero] Yes, it could be. The announced dynamics of this limited-time action, as they call it, its scope and range, the comments surrounding it, and the action undertaken by the Muslim side all indicate that our warnings about attempts to misuse this action were appropriate and timely. Unfortunately, they did not influence any decision to halt this action. But I do think that our arguments and publicly expressed positions at least partially contributed to the adjustments in the originally planned action (with regard to U.S. Air Force fighter plane escorts for the transport planes). It would not be good if they reverted to this original decision in the course of carrying out this action of delivering humanitarian aid by air. Because then there would definitely be an additional risk.

[Janjic] Apparently, Alija Izetbegovic and his followers were very interested in military intervention in order that they could potentially effect a turnaround on the battlefield, since their own armed forces have lost this war. However, any military intervention could be a big risk for the Muslims themselves!

[Gvero] This is one of the rare precedents in history, where someone wants foreign military troops to come to the territory where his people live. However, it is completely certain that the arrival of foreign military troops, in any combination, would mean immeasurable new sacrifices, including for the Muslim nation itself. Because in a situation like the one in the former B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina], where there are no classic separations and classic fronts; rather, the line of combat is very nonlinear and mixed up, so to speak, and there is no possibility whatsoever that any strikes could be directed at only one side. And why should they be, since there are no objective reasons why only one side should be attacked?! Instead of thinking about military intervention, foreign elements should think about what they often talk about—peace. Their focus should be on how to make peace in the former B-H, how to create the conditions for these nations to live in the same area, or at least alongside one another.

[Janjic] In the event of possible foreign military intervention, can the war in the territory of the former B-H continue on the level of local conflict?

[Gvero] There is not a single rational reason for foreign military intervention. Foreign military involvement would be a catastrophe for all three nations in the territory of the former B-H, and thus for the larger region as well. I think that that would be the direct beginning of destructive military activities that could not be controlled by whomever thought them up and launched them, neither in the sense of spreading nor in terms of the commitment of forces and the diversity of those involved. But I believe that reason will prevail and that this type of military and political adventurism, which could have unforeseeable consequences, will not be allowed.

[Janjic] If this does happen, God forbid, do you expect assistance from the Armed Forces of the FRY and from other friendly armies?

[Gvero] The Serb nation of the Serbian Republic is waging this war because it was forced into it. In this war, it is counting on itself, on its strength, the strength of its nation and its military, on the fact that the aggressor, or rather the military and political adversary, realistically

can and must be pushed back from our territory. At the same time, we are counting on those who recognize the justness of our struggle and who feel a need to help us in this struggle. It is impossible to say right now whether that means this side or that side, but it is a fact that in no regard do we want our—Serbian—nation from the right bank of the Drina to be unnecessarily pulled into the whirlwind of war in any way. However, we do expect to get the type of assistance from them that it is normal to expect when part of a nation is having major historic problems, as is the case with our nation right now in the Serbian Republic. That means that we expect moral and humanitarian support and aid, understanding for our struggle. We expect only however much is realistic, without direct military involvement.

[Janjic] What is your interpretation of the decision by the UN Security Council to set up a tribunal for war crimes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia?

[Gvero] Setting up international tribunals to consider individual questions, in this case war crimes, is not necessarily an inherently bad thing. But experience teaches us that in recent years the very establishment of individual international institutions has indicated a particular orientation, and that orientation has been to uncover Serb guilt. War crimes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia have been committed from Slovenia, through Croatia and naturally in Croatia, to the Serb regions in the former B-H. They have been committed in very large numbers and frequently, so that one impartial international tribune would actually have its hands full with judging those who have carried out massacres and genocide against the Serb people, the ethnic cleansing of Serb areas. At the same time, the mass crimes against Serb children, old people, and women and the mass mistreatment of Serbs in concentration camps being kept by Muslims and Croats would also have to be tried. However, bearing in mind experiences with the past conceptual orientation of individual institutions and judgments previously handed down, assigning blame before the factual consideration and accumulation of all the evidence, whereby an anti-Serb orientation has often been expressed, I must say that this leads me to think that calculated bias is present even in the very intention to set up such an institution.

[Janjic] What is the minimum interest below which the Serbs cannot go, regardless of all the possible threats and pressures?

[Gvero] We are for peace, for an honorable end to the war. However, there is a certain limit here, a certain line below which we cannot go. Most of all, we cannot accept any solution that would be detrimental to the vital interests of the Serb nation, because of which that nation was in fact forced to wage war. This means that we cannot accept the breakup of the Serb nation, in the territorial and institutional sense, or the unitary solution for the territory of the former B-H, which would mean that the Serb people would be put in a position of carrying out someone else's orders and the orientations of political representatives of other nations. The Serb nation must preserve its autonomy, it must preserve the ability to formulate and articulate itself politically, and to express its national interest. At the same time, the Serb nation, or rather we who are fighting this battle, must ensure that the causes of this war are eliminated to the maximum degree. If there were an end to the war or the formal signing of a peace treaty without the most important causes of the war having been eliminated, then questions could be raised about the sense of this nation's liberation struggle. We are waging a just, defensive war, a war that was forced on us and that we must win, because of everything that has been done before, because of the sacrifices that we have made, because of the minimum goals that we must achieve in our self-defense. We must win acceptance of this minimum of Serb interests.

[Janjic] The Armed Forces of the Serbian Republic are holding an exceptionally large front. Can it be maintained?

[Gvero] Our armed forces are currently holding a front almost the size of the territory in which Serbs live. It is around 4,300 km. That is an enormous front. We are successfully holding the achieved front lines, which we have liberated. Not only that, the morale among our tense fighters and the population is exceptionally good. We have contributed to that. That is our guarantee that we will hold out in this war until the end. Unfortunately, there is still a significant number of Serb villages and registered Serb land that is not under our control. Some parts will probably remain under the control of Muslim and Croat forces. But all in all, these are not very big territories. In all of this, one thing is completely certain—whatever the Serb military, the Serb nation, liberates with its weapons can hardly be handed over to anyone else in any sense.

[Janjic] Plenty of Serb officers originally from the former B-H have remained in the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia! How long will their evasion be tolerated?

[Gvero] A significant number of officers in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], from the territory of the Serbian Republic by birth, immediately put their experience, knowledge, and expertise at the service of the people according to the manifested need after the beginning of the armed struggle, or rather the self-defense of the Serb nation in the territory of the former B-H. We can be satisfied with the quality, patriotism, and sense of responsibility of the officers who made themselves available to the Serb nation during this time. However, for various reasons some of our officers did not come to our territory to fight with their own people. We need qualified and experienced officers, and even now we are willing to accept them in our ranks. They must be aware that we will win this war either way, with them or without them. But it is in their interest to be with their people. This sort of honorable opportunity will never be offered to them again. If they are not ready to help their own people at its worst hour, when it is fighting for its survival, then one wonders who even needs their military obligation and whom they will defend if not their own people.

[Janjic] Are there ways of getting these deserters back? Will you impose any sanctions?

[Gvero] I sincerely hope that the measures taken by our state leadership and by the Main Staff of the Armed Forces will contribute to returning military conscripts who fled mobilization back to this territory. It is a moral obligation of the institutions of our republic that we do everything we can to get them back. Nothing has a more destructive effect on the morale of our fighters and population than the knowledge that there are people who have run away from this most sublime obligation. Also very destructive is the knowledge that there are individual cases of various illicit operations, unauthorized accumulations of wealth, commerce and various types of speculation. We believe that these are rare cases. Documentation on these cases is being accumulated at the level of our state and military institutions. We are trying to solve such cases while they are still in operation, if possible. We will do everything to see to it that, now or later, such people, without a defense and without honor, are halted and their greed is curbed, that they will not be able to enjoy that which they thought they had secured for themselves in such a dishonorable manner, during such hard times, while their people are fighting to survive.

Namelist of New Tudjman-Appointed Government

LD0304144293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman today adopted a decision on the dismissal of the prime minister, the deputy prime minister, and members of the present Government of the Republic of Croatia, the president's office has announced.

The decision was made on the basis of Article 98, paragraph three of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. On the basis of the same Article of the Constitution the president of the republic adopted a decision today on the appointment of the prime minister, deputy prime minister, and members of the new government.

Nikica Valentic is appointed prime minister, and Mate Granic, Vladimir Seks, and Borisav Skegro are appointed deputy prime ministers. The following are also appointed:
Gojko Susak, minister of defense;
Ivan Jarnjak, minister of internal affairs;
Zdenko Skrabalo, minister of foreign affairs;
Zoran Jasic, minister of finance;
Zlatko Tomcic, minister of construction and environmental protection;
Ivan Cermak, minister of industry, shipbuilding and energy;
Vesna Girardi-Jurkic, minister of culture and education;
Ivan Tarnaj, minister of agriculture and forestry;
Ivica Mudrinic, minister of shipping, transport and communications;
Ivica Crnic, minister of justice and administration;
Josip Juras, minister of labor and social welfare;
Niko Bulic, minister of tourism and trade;
Juraj Njavro, minister of health;
Branko Jeren, minister of science.

Cedomir Pavlovic, Ivan Majdak, and Zlatko Matesa are appointed ministers without portfolio. Hrvoje Sarinic is appointed presidential adviser for national security and head of the Office for National Security. Smiljko Sokol is appointed special adviser for legal affairs to the president of the republic, on the basis of Article 106 of the Constitution and Article six of the Standing Orders on the organization and method of work of the Office of the President of the Republic.

Borisav Skegro is dismissed from his post as presidential adviser for the economy in order to take up his new post, the statement from the President's Office says.

New Premier Outlines Government Policies

LD0304184893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Following the first session of the newly appointed Croatian Government, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic has told HINA that the government will implement the policy created by the state president, which is of course contained in the declaration from the president of the Republic. Consequently, there are no changes in foreign policy, in relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia where our stands are very clear, and with other countries with which we have excellent relations, Valentic said.

He added that the return of refugees is one of the government's basic concerns, and relevant ministries will therefore resume their work as early as next week. The policy toward the UN Protection Force has been determined by the latest extension of their mandate, the prime minister said.

Talking about the position of Serbs in Croatia, Valentic said that the Croatian Government will guarantee all civil and other rights to the Serbs in our country. He called on Serbs to be reasonable, advocating solutions which will restore control throughout Croatian territory without further bloodshed.

The government will insist that the tasks of the state administration and local self-government should be separated on the principles of the European Charter, Valentic said. According to him, one of the tasks of the new government will be to strengthen democratic processes, the freedom of press and the privatization of the media. We must form our stands in line with European criteria, he added.

Talking about the economy, he said that the basic task is to revive production and begin public works. The government's policy will be directed toward the reduction of taxes to increase employment, regardless of the budget. Valetnic noted adding that the main task of the new government will be customs and tax concessions and curbing inflation. Our stand is clear in that respect. We will emphasize monetary and fiscal policy and a wages policy. These are the three anchors of the economic program, the prime minister said adding that the government will introduce firm financial discipline and halt fiduciary money issue [siva emisija].

Tourism and agriculture will remain the buttresses of the economic program of the new Croatian Government. We will immediately begin preparations for this year's tourist season, he said.

Considering the energy supply in Dalmatia, the government will, according to Valentic, do everything it can to improve the situation as soon as possible by implementing temporary measures, but the government will at the same time work on long-term solutions to the problems of energy supply.

Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said that the Croatian Government will work on providing legal safety, implementing legal decrees, and creating a legal system in line with Western countries.

Krajina's New Prime Minister Defines Goals

AU0504073193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 93 p 6

[Interview with Djordje Bjegovic, new prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by B. Gulan in Beli Manastir; date not given: "Victory in War, Enough Food, Elimination of Crime"]

[Text] Beli Manastir—Djordje Bjegovic, new prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, former director of the Elektrokrajina plant and minister for energy in the previous government of the discharged Zdravko Zecevic, says in his first official interview:

"I shall form a government of experts. We know our goals, and in two weeks I shall have ministers, freely designated by me, performing their functions.

My work will be public, as will the work of all other ministers. We shall always discuss everything that has been done or has not been done, openly, before the eyes of the public". Bjegovic emphasizes in his interview with BORBA.

[Gulan] As a man from Knin's Krajina, what will be your guidelines for the development of the republic?

[Bjegovic] We shall not give up the existing policy and its main guidelines. Our policy will be the continuation, but also the implementation of what we have not, for many reasons, yet done. That is, my first goal will be to win this war, if there is no alternative. I must say that my function is extremely difficult to perform even in peacetime, not to mention during a war. The second goal is to provide enough food, and the third is to prevent crime. Without the achievement of these goals there is no life for us in Krajina. At the same time, this is my appeal to the people who left Krajina to return and start developing this little state. I asked the representatives to approve my free selection of staff, which they did. That means I will select educated, strong, and courageous people.

[Gulan] How do you intend to conduct the war economy? How much is the existing military option going to inhibit your freedom in the implementation of goals?

[Bjegovic] In two weeks I am going to propose the makeup of the Government, which I hope the assembly in Knin will accept. I shall present my program, which I expect, will also be accepted. Because if the people trust me they have to trust my program, too. My ministers have to know that their office hours will be 20 hours a day and that they are going to live in Knin. What I demand from Knin are the facilities, that is to say offices. Those people will be real fighters, and only in such a way shall we be able to accomplish our three goals. These days, I have started to work on the creation of conditions for production to begin. Because, if machines are silent people will remain unemployed. Which means that, in the next three months, at least 25 percent of our facilities, which are not insignificant, will have to start working. First and foremost we shall start production in those plants that were not destroyed in the course of war. We have enough oil for our own needs. Nevertheless, we must invest more in the plant at Mirkovic. Particular attention will be paid to the exploitation of large deposits of coal and minerals in the south and west of Krajina.

For instance, after the Croatian aggression on 22 January this year, and their blowing of the Peruca Dam, the reservoir lost its water, and Kajina lost one of its sources of electric power. We own large coal reserves, however, which can be of great importance for the republic. We have already started, together with institutes from Serbia, to study the possibilities of exploiting the coal and minerals, of which Krajina has abundant supplies.

[Gulan] How do you intend to provide food for the people who remain in Krajina?

[Bjegovic] Our agriculture can, optimally, provide food for 400,000 people, while exporting 30 percent of production. With the war going on, our main task is to feed the people who live here, and we are going to succeed. That task is not easy for us, because we do not have factories producing fertilizers or agricultural machines, which means that we have to buy them. However, Krajina has 700,000 hectares of arable land for crops, 10,000 hectares of vineyards, 6,000 hectares of orchards, and 350,000 hectares of pasture and meadow, meaning that Krajina is a classic agrarian country. The data, that in the last autumn 40,000 hectares were sown with wheat and 4,000 hectares were sown with other crops, speaks of our starting to work on it. The data that 55,000 hectares used to be sown with wheat in the best of times, shows that what we have done is not insignificant. Today we do not have enough raw materials, while many people are to be found in trenches, rather than in fields.

[Gulan] It is obvious that crime is flourishing in Krajina. There are many accusations, even against leading people, however, who however, deny them.... How are you going to prevent crime?

[Bjegovic] War and crime always go hand in hand. There will be neither mercy nor compromise in exterminating crime in our realm. We expect to encounter strong resistance in our fight against crime, but it will be broken. No one engaged in dirty dealings will be spared, from those at the top, all the way to the ordinary criminals.

Krajina Army Issues Statement on Croat Offensive

LD0204153893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—In connection with the latest offensive operation launched by the Croatian forces against the republic of Serb Krajina, the general

staff of the army of the republic of Serb Krajina has addressed the Krajina people with a proclamation calling on all patriots to defend the western borders of Serbdom, the news agency of the republic of Serb Krajina, ISKRA, has reported.

"The world public, which cried for months over the alleged destruction of Dubrovnik, has not for a second raised its voice to condemn the vandalism and systematic destruction against the Serb villages, business facilities, and cultural and historical monuments of our nation.

The General Staff of the Republic of Serb Krajina again lodged a sharp protest with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command, thus also protesting to the international community, over the latest brutal ustasha attack on our territory. Unfortunately, we do not have any illusions about the international community taking any serious steps against the obvious aggressor, which they have also singled out as such.

By adopting UN Security Council Resolution 815, Croatia's sponsors gave it silent consent to launch this fresh offensive aimed at finally breaking the resistance of Serb defenders, thus making more glorious festivities to be held on 10 April, the day when Pavelic's ustasha Independent State of Croatia was set up [in 1941].

The ustashas used the usual scenario for this attack. They first asked for a cease-fire and negotiations, and just before the attack sounded a general alert for their towns in all of Dalmatia and Lika.

We have again been left without a possibility to choose. Our only choice is to defend our children and our homes on our own. The enemy is offering only our complete annihilation. It wishes to destroy even the last trace of the existence of the Serbian people in this area. What it did last night is a clear sign that pits, slaughterhouses, and new Jasenovac-type concentration camps are looming.

The general staff of the army of the republic of Serb Krajina is therefore calling on all able-bodied citizens to contact the nearest army command and to join the defenders of Krajina. We are calling on all Patriots-volunteers from all Serb and Orthodox countries to join us in the defense of the western borders of Serbdom and the Orthodox religion and to deal a final blow to the fascist aggressor." the proclamation of the general staff of the army of the republic of Serb Krajina says in conclusion.

Serb Krajina Protests UN Resolution No 815

LD0304165693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Knin, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] State Committee for Cooperation with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali informing him that the Committee is "astonished at the content of UN Security Council Resolution No 815".

"We are forced to make a series of serious objections to its content. We welcome the decision of the Security Council to extend the UNPROFOR mandate on the territory of former Croatia, but we cannot help expressing our astonishment and indignation at the crude and the most drastic violation to date of the Vance plan provisions by those who are most responsible for its consistent implementation—the United Nations."

The latest resolution, which speaks about the observance of Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and where the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina is defined as an integral part of the Republic of Croatia, represents a direct prejudgment of the political solution and completely denies the basic provision of the Vance plan, the letter to Butrus-Ghali says.

Recalling that the RSK fully supports the implementation of the Vance plan, the letter says that the latest resolution is yet another in a series of pressures on the RSK. We are proposing that Resolution No 815 be revised, because an escalation of the war conflict and ethnic cleansing could occur, all based on the UN decisions, according to the letter sent from the RSK State Committee for Cooperation with UNPROFOR to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

Army, Serb Separatist Forces Arrange Cease-Fire

AU0204160393 Paris AFP in English 1547 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Zagreb, April 2 (AFP)—The Croatian Army and separatist Serbian forces in Krajina, southern Croatia, have agreed on a cease-fire that will begin Sunday [4 April], the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) announced Friday.

The cease-fire, which will start at 2200 GMT, was brokered by UNPROFOR officials, the European Community and the International Committee of the Red Cross in the town of Otocac, 150 kilometres (95 miles) south of here.

It is expected to be followed by an exchange of prisoners Monday, a UNPROFOR spokesman added.

The Croatian media reported Friday that fighting was still going on between the two sides near the south-western coastal ports of Zadar and Biograd.

U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance negotiated a ceasefire between Serbian and Croatian forces in Croatia in January 1992, but it was broken last January when the Croatian army launched an offensive near Zadar.

Federal

Government Statement Condemns Sanctions

LD0404155193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—At a session held on 4 April, the FRY Government discussed results of the Bileca session of the Assembly of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], reactions to the adopted declaration, and growing threats to tighten existing sanctions and introduce new ones against the FRY, disclosed the Federal Ministry for Information in a statement issued today.

The government maintains that the assembly discussion and the declaration adopted in Bileca have confirmed that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina have firmly opted for the continuation of the peace process and that they are firmly interested in a swift resolution of all controversial issues regarding the map and a comprehensive and lasting political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The government recalls that, from the onset of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the FRY has advocated a peaceful solution based on respect for the legitimate interests of all three nations and on a consensus regarding their life together. In this context, the FRY has supported the Vance-Owen peace plan as a good basis for further negotiations aimed at reaching a consensus regarding the proposed maps.

Proceeding from this, the FRY has been acting constructively at the Geneva and New York talks, and it has brought as much influence to bear as possible on the Bosnian Serbs to cooperate to the maximum degree.

Giving an absolute priority to a momentary and unconditional cessation of armed conflicts, the FRY has mediated successfully in the latest cease-fire agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the only such agreement that, in spite of individual violations by the Muslim and Croat side, is still being observed.

Assessing that it is most important to maintain, at any cost, the current cease-fire, which is of great significance for the continuation of the peace process, the government lends its support to the proposed meeting of military commanders of all three sides in the civil war in Sarajevo, and it supports the idea that the chiefs of the general staffs of the Yugoslav Army and the Republic of Croatia attend that meeting as observers.

The government is confident that the remaining disputed questions in connection with the Vance-Owen maps can be solved and that they should not endanger the peace process. The government accepts an appeal by the assembly in Bileca calling for the international community to help in organizing bilateral talks between the warring sides. The Yugoslav Government offers its hospitality and mediating services for urgent talks between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Muslims as well as the talks between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.

The government calls on the presidents of the United States, Russia, and all the highest representatives of the G-7 to resist pressures for an escalation of the crisis and to form a stand, at the Vancouver summit, in favor of the continued peace efforts and negotiations. In this respect the international community can fully rely on genuine and whole-hearted support and cooperation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Bearing in mind that at the Geneva and New York negotiations, as well as on other occasions, the international community has explicitly accepted the fact that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a civil and ethnic one, the Yugoslav Government resolutely condemns the tightening of the existing and the introduction of new sanctions and calls for the existing sanctions, unfairly and unilaterally imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be lifted, the statement says.

German Nonrecognition of Rail Tickets Protested

LD0204154293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade 2 Apr (TANJUG)—The charge d'affaires at the German Embassy in Belgrade was handed a formal protest at the Federal Foreign Ministry yesterday concerning the decision of the German Railways to declare invalid all rail tickets issued by Yugoslav Railways and to stop issuing tickets to Yugoslavia in the Federal Republic of Germany. The German charge d'affaires was told that this measure contravenes CSCE documents and intentions on cooperation and unhindered circulation of people and that it seriously harms the economic interests of the two countries. It was stressed that such measures are not covered by the documents and intentions of the UN Security Council resolutions on sanctions, as the German side is trying to imply. It is thus requested that the decision be reexamined in the interest of continued cooperation in this and other areas.

The fact that Yugoslavs born in Bosnia-Herzegovina are being advised by the organs in charge of the FRG to obtain and extend the validity of their passports at the so-called "Bosnian embassy" in Bonn—although the vast majority of them do not recognize the Muslim state and continue to consider themselves Yugoslav citizens under the protection of the Yugoslav state—was underlined as yet another example of behavior which is contrary to the interests of the two states. Such practice is viewed as a measure of the pressure which ignores people's right to self-determination and to personal choice of citizenship. The question of citizenship of Yugoslav citizens from the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and from Serb Krajina should be resolved in a democratic manner, as a result of the political negotiations currently under way in New York and Geneva, the protest stresses.

Serbian Orthodox Church Rejects Vance-Owen Plan

LD0204213793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Rome, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—"The Serbian Orthodox Church expresses complete disagreement with the Vance-Owen plan on the territorial division of Bosnia, accepted by the Muslims and Croats."

This stance was revealed at an unexpected news conference in Rome this evening by Amfilohije, Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral, and by Irinej, Bishop of Backa, who are on a several-day visit to the Vatican and Italy as an official delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church. [passage omitted]

Panic Addresses Newly Promoted Officers

AU0404161093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Report by Tomic on the promotion ceremony in the Military Academy in Belgrade—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] This exceptional ceremony was attended by the parents and numerous relatives of the youngest, first generation of officers of the army of Yugoslavia. The ceremony was opened by Major General Professor Momcilo Lazovic, rector of the Yugoslav military academy, following a salute to the flag and the playing of the anthem. The youngest generation of officers and their relatives were addressed by Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia, who stressed that the promotion of students to officers is the most important event for every army and state. This moment festively marks the entry of young men into the circle of (?sacred) defenders of the fatherland, General Panic said, and stressed:

[Panic] "The time in which we hold this ceremony is in many ways dramatic. Our fatherland is threatened, unrecognized by the world, and almost expelled from all international associations. In this unprecedented blockade, we are almost surrounded by pronouncedly hostile neighbors. We are being threatened with all sorts of things, even military force.

"Through no actual fault of our own, we are the only ones blamed for the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, particularly for the bloody interethnic, religious, and civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. All this is done only because the Serbs, like, after all, all other Yugoslav peoples, wanted to live in their own state and not in foreign states in which the they were going to be reduced to a national minority following the wishes of the powerful architects of the new world order."

General Panic wondered whether there will be an end to all these threats, pressures, and blackmail directed at the Serbian people in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Panic] "World powers remain deaf and blind regarding the full cooperativeness of our state in the quest for peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Instead of recognition, we are threatened with new sanctions. Plans that could lead to the total historic defeat of the Serbian people and further disintegration of our state territory are being prepared. We do not intend to accept this. There is no price that we are not prepared to pay to preserve the identity and dignity of the Serbian people and the territorial integrity of our country."

According to the chief of the General Staff, the combat part of the army of Yugoslavia is today richer for a new generation of young and educated officers.

[Panic] "They have yet to make their contribution to its development into an armed force that will be respected and due [word indistinct] by both friends and foes. The army of Yugoslavia is an army of peace. Its strength will never threaten the freedom and independence of any people. After all, this is not in the tradition of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples nor their states. Therefore, we categorically reject these types of insinuations made at the expense of our alleged aggressiveness. These are coming from some neighboring countries, especially from the secessionist republics of the former Yugoslavia. We are seriously taking the threats that are being sent to us from the international centers of power and are (?thoroughly) analyzing them as our part of responsibility concerning the preservation of our state."

Addressing the youngest generation of the officers of the army of Yugoslavia, Colonel General Panic said the following:

[Panic] "The time at which you are entering the army ranks is the time of a general crisis. War is being waged near our borders, and there is a big danger of it being transferred to our territory. We will do everything possible to prevent this. However, if the war is imposed on us, we will have to wage it. Therefore, we must prepare ourselves to wage it victoriously, or to inflict on the aggressor such losses that would force it to abandon the planned war goal."

This event was attended by Radmilo Bogdanovic, vice chairman of the Chamber of Republics and head of the committee for the protection and security of the federal assembly, Belgrade Mayor Slobodanka Gruden, and top members of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia.

Commentary Views UN No-Fly Zone Resolution

AU0404170693 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 93 p 2

[Commentary by Miroslav Lazanski: "Forbidden Sky"]

[Text] Is the latest resolution of the UN Security Council, which permits the use of force in the no-fly zone over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, in fact the start of direct military intervention by the West against the

territory of the former Yugoslavia? Is such interventionism a form of colonialism? After all, who is going to be next after Bosnia: Kashmir, Armenia....

In New York, the Security Council hesitated with the new decision until Moscow agreed to the text. True, the Security Council has accepted Moscow's remarks that "it is not permitted to hit Serbian ground targets in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," but this is only verbal and written finesse to save Russia's honor and the weakened position of Boris Yeltsin. What is it really all about?

Any aircraft appearing in the airspace of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina without UNPROFOR's [Un Protection Force] consent will be downed. The executor of this Security Council decision may be any UN member country, or a regional organization (probably NATO). The operation will be carried out in close cooperation with UNPROFOR and the UN secretary general. The text of the resolution can be interpreted very flexibly and—theoretically and practically—offers any individual country the opportunity to control the airspace of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Generally speaking, the resolution names possible violators although the intonation and context of its adoption have for a long time been serving psychological-propaganda pressure on the Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslavia. The resolution speaks of downing all aircraft found in the airspace of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina without UNPROFOR's permission. Does this apply to the planes of the Republic of Croatia?

It may mean that, but it does not have to. Croatia is a UN member, it has a military agreement with another UN member (the phantom "state" of Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Croatia can hold consultations with the UN secretary general and the Security Council and demand that its warplanes shoot down other aircraft that are found above Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the formulation of the latest Security Council resolution does not bar it from doing that. Of course, one should hope that the UN secretary general has sufficient political feeling for such a refined operation, but considering the kind of statements Butrus-Ghali has made lately and the fact that some of his reports were left in the drawers of his desk, anything is possible.

Who, then, is going to implement the latest resolution in the skies over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, who is going to be the "sky police" with the right to shoot down even medical helicopters?

In an operational sense, the best prepared for this are American F-14 and F-18 combat aircraft from aircraft carriers in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, as well as F-16's from their base in Italy. There are also combat squadrons of NATO aircraft, above all Dutch F-16's, British Sea Harriers from the aircraft carrier Arc Royal and French Super Etendards from the aircraft carrier Clemenceau. Whether they are going to keep constant control of the Bosnian skies in the form of air patrols and a "free hunt" zone, as is being done in northern and southern Iraq, or take off at the call of the AWACS [airborne warning and control systems] reconnaissance aircraft will be seen very soon. Considering the configuration of the terrain and weather conditions at this time of year in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the aircraft controlling the Bosnian skies will probably fly permanent fighter patrols at irregular times.

What kind of abuse is possible in the wake of the Security Council resolution? The term "shooting down a plane in the air" is very flexible, as a plane is in the air even when it is only half a meter above the airport runway. What if Western fighter aircraft hit a plane when it is on the runway, just before taking off? What if they miss the plane and destroy half of the airport or take advantage of this situation to "scatter a few" bombs and rockets over neighboring targets, be they civilians or military?

What will happen with Serbian antiaircraft missiles around Banja Luka and the local airport? Recently, a similar resolution was used by the United States to attack Iraq, with the explanation that "it had antiaircraft missiles on the ground in the no-fly zone." Who will be authorized to judge where planes that find themselves in the sky over Bosnia-Herzegovina have come from, and where they may try to fly if Western fighter planes appear?

What may happen in the border belt with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? Are Western aircraft going to shoot down a Serbian medical helicopter, with clear Red Cross markings, which is saving the lives of wounded without UNPROFOR's permission? Can the wounded, and their lives, depend on the speed of reaction of the East River bureaucrats? Who will be able to explain this nicely to the fighters who have spent a full year in the trenches?

After the Vietnam syndrome, America has obviously been inundated with the "Desert Storm" syndrome. However, Bosnia is not a place where the U.S. Air Force can repeat what they did in the desert. The Vietnam experience and the main lesson from this American catastrophe are as follows: Do not interfere in someone else's civil war. It is ridiculous to side with somebody in a civil war in which the United States has no clear military goal.

Commentary Looks at U.S. Military Options

AU0504083193 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 93 p 7

[Commentary by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "Exclusive Quarantine"]

[Text] It has been announced that the Serbs will be exposed to additional pressure with the aim of forcing them to sign a plan that they cannot accept. This refers primarily to the Bosnian Serbs, but the pressure will not stop at the Drina River. This is both the preliminary

result of the negotiations, characterized by "the missing signature," and their expected epilogue.

After the latest round of negotiations in New York, the situation in the Balkans has been neither calmer nor more dramatic than before, because everything suggests that the whole story had been devised long before the finale of the New York game with signatures took place. All warring and negotiating parties had to get ready for what followed—the continuation of the war and the negotiations. The problem of the Serbs not signing the agreement has to be solved by those who created it. Now, before stricter sanctions against Yugoslavia have taken effect, the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has to be analyzed. Where are the limits of tolerance in this case, and how realistic are the possibilities of military force being used against a Federal Republic of Yugoslavia already exhausted by economic sanctions?

European NATO Headquarters already has in its drawers dozens of options for military intervention "within the United Nations or on its own." The plans make no clear distinction between options "within the United Nations" and "on its own," but all of them include "the model of gradual escalation." In other words, all the options vary from a relatively benign threat to a total military response taken by all the partners.

The strategic aim of the economic exhaustion of Yugoslavia is no longer to change the regime, but to achieve the level at which the state, society, and its army will not be motivated for military resistance. This objective can be attained only by successive threats, or with the help of destructive powers within the state itself (by provoking a civil war, for example). This can hardly be expected, however, because social problems in Yugoslavia dominate political conflicts, although any insurgency could bear a political seal.

In our opinion, it is necessary to analyze carefully the announcement made by U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, who says that his soldiers will not take part in the clashes in the Balkans unless the Albanians in Kosovo or in neighboring Albania are endangered. It seems that the borders, the policy, and the geography of the region are unknown to Mr. Christopher, since he has restricted the military philosophy of his country only to the territory of former Yugoslavia. This means that the U.S.A. will not risk the lives of their soldiers for the sake of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because they know that it is impossible to save it, but they are prepared to destroy Serbia because they think that this is feasible—under circumstances which are being prepared.

Hypothetically speaking, military intervention will be carried out only in the case that its effects have not been achieved "by other means," which have already been in effect for months. Among military analysts, the dilemma between the risks and the effects of the military options has been discussed for a long time now. The supporters of the "shock treatment" think that the Balkans should be subject to a quick and decisive military operation with clearly defined aims and forces to be deployed. The forces planned for this option would be absolutely fantastic: over half a million soldiers, who would first establish peace in those regions where it is disturbed and then prevent war in regions where it could break out. This operation would amount to the abstract amount of over $50 billion for the first 12 months, but since it has been stated that it would be "intervention without a defined end," it would definitely not pay. The estimate of losses is causing pessimism, and British analysts think that compared with Vietnam everything should be multiplied by a factor of five.

Intervention on a smaller scale would be senseless in the Balkans, a fact already proven by the 20,000 UNPROFOR "blue helmets," who are literally lost, regardless of their obvious bias toward the Croatian-Muslim coalition. It has been proven that these forces are not able to defend themselves even from their friends (who have caused almost all their casualties). Their buffer role is a pure illusion, because the task in the former Yugoslavia would require more men than the above-mentioned military intervention.

What are the present intentions? [Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina president Radovan] Karadzic's refusal to sign something that has already been signed by [Bosnian Croat leader Mate] Boban and [Bosnian President] Alija [Izetbegovic], is reason enough to find justifications for "new pressures." The Bosnian Serbs can do nothing but resist this order, and the international community, which deserves the blame for this vast tragedy, has to estimate which is most important—their diplomatic prestige, their open partiality, or the present situation. The Serbs have already endured all the pressures exerted on them for things done by others, and if the noose tightens, their dilemma—to survive tumultuously or to vanish slowly—could become dangerous, globally speaking. The U.N. Security Council has already forgotten that Croatia has violated the Vance plan and is nervously requiring the Bosnian Serbs to sign a new one that is even more unfavorable than the previous one. The cooperativeness of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Geneva was slightingly neglected—like the Croatian brutality with which it attacked the "blue helmets."

Additional unrest has been caused by the U.N.'s tendency to teach the Serbs a lesson on obedience through successive ultimata. The solution must be somewhere, but the maps, which Karadzic did not want to sign, certainly do not pave the way for it.

The U.S. President has already announced that he would require that the arms embargo on the Muslims be lifted. This is, in fact, some kind of compromise among the extreme military options—in any case the least painful one for the superpowers—because the arms industry would be active and their soldiers would stay at home.

Experts know that the arms embargo was effectively lifted a long time ago, and that the Muslims are getting

everything they need through Slovenia and Croatia. Does this mean that nothing will change? Will the bewildered people, who can do nothing except to fight, continue with their mutual extermination?

There is probably nobody who can answer this question as long as the contents of the tightening measures for the Serbs in Yugoslavia have not been revealed and until the pressure on Serbia has caused dangerous global shocks.

Serbia

Information Minister Affirms Media Freedom

AU0304153093 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 p 6

[TANJUG report on the news conference by Information Minister Milivoje Pavlovic in Kopaonik on 28 March: "Pavlovic: Censorship Is Out of the Question"]

[Text] Kopaonik, 28 March (TANJUG)—"The interests of the Serbian people are inseparable from the full freedom of the public word and the fundamental democratic role of the media," Information Minister Milivoj Pavlovic stated in today's news conference organized for foreign journalists accredited in Serbia.

"Therefore, the introduction of any kind of control or censorship over the work of domestic or foreign journalists is completely out of the question," Pavlovic emphasized.

Asked to comment on the ideas that can be heard these days about establishing some sort of state-run news agency, Pavlovic said that no republic or responsible official of the Serbian Government had any such intentions.

"The Serbian authorities cannot be charged with all the ideas that some public personality announces on the air. I assure you that the Serbian Government and its bodies will continue to nurture complete openness toward foreign journalists in Serbia, improve journalistic responsibility, and promote creative and responsible journalism," Pavlovic said to the journalists.

"Instead of any form of licensing foreign correspondents, one has to introduce the critical public opinion for the first critic of the press. [as published] This means that one can also critically assess certain reports by foreign journalists, but not in a way that questions the very essence of free journalism or degrades the democratic role of the media," Pavlovic underlined.

Within their working visit to Serbia, the foreign journalists not only visited the Kopaonik ski resort, but the Studenica monastery and many other cultural and tourist sites in the republic. Besides Minister Pavlovic, they also talked to Culture Minister Djoko Stojacic; Vesna Prlja, director of the International News Center; and Branislav Lekovic, director of the Genex Hotel.

Commentator Ridicules Pacifist Rally in Belgrade

AU0304201293 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Commentary by Stefan Grubac]

[Text] A group of some 100 to 150 people assembled in front of the federal parliament today. Among them was a large number of reporters and photographers; too many reporters and too many photographers for such a small group. Both are calling for peace but only with banners mainly written in Latin script. The whole thing must be at the European level. There were no speeches. Potential speakers could have easily addressed everyone personally.

So, Belgrade pacifists, that is, the Citizens Alliance of Serbia, we have already described everything that has happened, or rather that has not happened, except the support for[Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic. This would have been the end of the story, but in our naive Serb view this is not the end at all, but the beginning. This is enough for the world media. All they need is a motive. It is enough for them to say that support was extended in Belgrade to the Vance-Owen plan, but not from official Serbia, but some other, God knows what, Serbia.

An event is first fabricated and then put into circulation via the media. At the recent talks in New York, Alija Izetbegovic presented as his own argument something that had already been stated by a withered-away Belgrade intellectual. The fanaticism of the Belgrade quasi-pacifists, since they have never mentioned any rights of the Serbian people with a single word, nor have they ever mentioned the innocent Serb victims, cannot rest only on their lackey's psychology. There must simply be some other reasons and interests for this.

A new Jutel [television stat[illegible] is just being founded. It will be sailing in the Ad[illegible]nder the auspices of the EC. A journalist's sal[illegible]: $2,500. Last night we heard that the foreig[illegible]s reporting from the assembly of the Serbian people in Bileca were given instructions on how to report. Yes, instructions, you heard correctly. We are not surprised at this, considering that we have been the witnesses of what has been written about the Serbian people and the Serbian question over the last two to three years. We are surprised that our so-called independent reporters have not sent a sharp protest because of the restriction of journalistic freedom of their colleagues.

Today's gathering of a handful of pacifists in Belgrade is neither a Belgrade nor Serbian event. Paradoxically, thanks to the technology and techniques of the world media this could become a media event. This event was made with this sole purpose in mind. Nevertheless, it would be good for the Serbian people if all support to Alija Izetbegovic and the creators of the new world were as effective as this one today.

Macedonia

Defense Minister Sees 'Greatest Threat' From Serbia

LD0204175893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Skopje, 2 April (TANJUG)—Vlado Popovski, defense minister of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, said in the Sobranje [Macedonian Assembly] this evening that claims stating that the authorities had not secured protection of the northern border were incorrect.

Popovski also denied the claims that Macedonian authorities did not have a plan for the defense of the republic from possible aggression. According to him such a plan exists, and in the assessment of a possible aggression it has been concluded that the greatest threat for Macedonia in that sense is posed by Serbia. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

DPS Approves Bosnian Serb Assembly Decision

LD0304183493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 3 Apr 93

[Text] Podgorica, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—Predrag Bulatovic, a member of the top leadership of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS], told TANJUG today that the deputies in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic's Assembly shoulder a great responsibility because they had to decide to protect vital national interests while, at the same time, the decision had to be a necessary compromise which will respect complex international relations.

I believe, Bulatovic said, that the decision they passed convincingly shows that the Serb side in Bosnia-Herzegovina is truly committed to peace and to the continuation of the peace process. The decision makes possible further dialogue, and it also searches for a compromise and concessions among all factors involved in solving the Bosnian crisis, primarily the international community.

All the forces involved in the crisis, which are truly committed to peace and to a solution which is just for all three nations, have a fresh chance, Bulatovic believes. "I expect them to take the chance because if they fail to do so it will encourage the forces which have always been and still are in favor of ultimatums and pressures, and even of the use of force, not only against the Serb nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Novak Kilibarda, leader of the People's Party of Montenegro, believes that the Serb Republic's assembly stayed on the path of Serb freedom-loving history when it rejected "the ultimatum-like draft maps offered by Vance and Owen."

The party also welcomes the readiness of the Serb Republic's Assembly for its representatives to continue talks on the rights of all three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on a just solution to the conflict, Kilibarda said.

Future of Montenegro Daily Uncertain

93BI0768B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 93 p 14

[Article by Dragoljub Vukovic, based on interview with Nikola Ivanovic, CEO and editor in chief of POBJEDA in Podgorica: "A Country Without a Daily Newspaper?"]

[Text] Could Montenegro become the only country in the world which does not have its own daily newspaper? In certain other times that question would have no meaning, but now that that possibility is not uncertain, the question should be put at least for reasons of prevention.

"Last May, POBJEDA's circulation was somewhere around 16,000. We undertook certain innovations at that time, we refreshed the content and came out with two editions, plus one regional edition. In that way," says Nikola Ivanovic, CEO and editor in chief of POBJEDA, "we offset the drop in circulation, so that in January of this year it was about 14,000. In practical terms, in a year we had dropped about 2,000, which is a rarity in Yugoslavia."

Ivanovic did not want to mystify things, and he communicated to us a precise figure of 14,121 copies which POBJEDA printed on the average this January, with returns amounting to 23 percent. Circulation fell in February, but Ivanovic did not have the precise figures at the time of the interview with BORBA.

In spite of the drop in circulation, Ivanovic says that POBJEDA is not being read much less than earlier. The paper goes from hand to hand, our informant explained, referring to his own neighborhood, where a single copy of POBJEDA goes "from top to bottom of an eight-story building." Poverty, then, is the main reason for the declining interest in newspapers, including POBJEDA. That is why Ivanovic bitterly concludes that POBJEDA is no longer the newspaper of the citizens of Montenegro, but of only those citizens who can buy it.

"In the world at large, they figure that the price of a kilogram of newsprint is equal to the price of one copy of the newspaper. In our country, at the moment that is about 9,000 dinars, but if we sold POBJEDA at that price, we would not sell even 900 copies." Ivanovic concludes. So, if the press is not to die out, Ivanovic believes that the government must show an interest and protect the press as a whole through certain benefits.

The top man at POBJEDA assesses that newspaper's present financial situation as disastrous. Because the

funds envisaged in the republic budget have lost value, the government is forced to intervene every month to meet the payroll.

How in future will relations be regulated among the founders, the Montenegrin Assembly, and POBJEDA as far as money support is concerned? Ivanovic says that they are applying for recognition of the difference between costs and the price of the paper. It is expected that this will be debated in the Assembly, and it is hoped that Montenegro will not be put in a position of being left without its only daily paper.

There have been no dramatic moves at POBJEDA along the lines of mandatory leave and layoffs. The CEO and editor in chief is concerned, however, about journalists leaving, setting up private firms, saving themselves.... "I am afraid that the consequences will be felt for a long time," Ivanovic says.

[Box, p 14]

Money Lost

Two years ago, POBJEDA's sales network withdrew and formed a separate firm. Ivanovic says that this is a terrible handicap for the paper, especially in this period of inflation, because "daily money" is being lost.

[Box, p 14]

Pleasing to All Parties

By contrast with the time when there were demonstrations against POBJEDA in front of the Montenegrin parliament with shouts that POBJEDA is a defeat for Montenegro, this sole Montenegrin daily is now not being reproached by the opposition political parties. "The paper has been accepted by all the political parties and in actuality there are no general reproaches of us," Nikola Ivanovic says. At the same time, he assured us that during the nine months he has been CEO and editor in chief no one in the government structure has taken an interest in influencing editorial policy.

Kosovo

Serbian Police Arrest Three Reporters

AU0404145793 Tirana ATA in English 1223 GMT 4 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (ATA)—On April 2, at [time indistinct], the Serb police arrested Rahim Sadiku, ex reporter of "RILINDJA" and political prisoner, Haki Braha, Pristina Radio TV reporter and Avni Shabani "RILINDJA" correspondent, all of them from Ferizaj Commune.

They were arrested because about 1000 copies of the review "ZGJIMI" were found in their car. This review assumed its activity after 20 years. The purpose is to provide information for the people of Ferizaj and neighbouring communes by treating different social and cultural topics.

These three reporters were summoned at the police station in Dardania of Pristina and were questioned in regard to the publication and content of this review. They were set free on the condition to show again at the police station on April 3. The police confiscated all the copies of the review.

Rugova Urges Authorities Accept UN Protectorate

AU0204200193 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] At a news conference held in Prishtina today, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, told reporters that the recent maneuvers by the Serbian police in Kosova and near the Albanian border are being staged to provoke Albanians and evict people from Kosova. Dr. Rugova considered the presentation by Dobrica Cosic, president of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia, in the European parliament, in which he threatened the West because of its support to Kosova, to be a hypocrisy and inconsequence through which Cosic wants to provoke and threaten other people.

In this news conference, President Rugova called on the Serbian authorities to accept a UN protectorate for Kosova. Rugova stressed that this would be a better solution for both Albanians and Serbs, something that would prevent military implications from spreading in the region and beyond. Rugova repeated the requests that the Kosova question be examined in the UN Security Council, since the intensified Serbian repression could place the developments in Kosova on a bad and dangerous course.

Rugova Claims Serb Repression Continues

AU0404145093 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.65 in English 2 Apr 93

[Unattributed report published by the Democratic League of Kosovo "From the Regular Press Conference of the President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova"]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference today in Prishtina, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, condemned further militarization of Kosova by Serbia. During this week in Kosova heavy Serbian military movements and trainings occurred, such as in Skenderaj, Runik, Vushtrri, etc. This is being carried out in order to provoke the Albanians and intimidate them, so that they would leave Kosova, Dr. Rugova said, adding that heavy military movements were also noticed towards the Albanian-Kosova border.

The daily repression has continued unabated, Dr. Rugova reiterated. Albanian young are forcefully taken to the Serbian Army, looting of firms and individuals

occurred, while repression against the Albanians has been enriched with new forms of violence as owners of the homes where classes are held are being maltreated. The so-called Serbian financial police has been confiscating and looting everything it could find in shops and depots owned by Albanians, including flour. All the confiscated goods are being distributed to the Serbs in Kosova, through their trade-union organizations, etc.

We urge the international community and humanitarian organizations to make efforts in order that humanitarian relief in food and medicine reach Kosova, Dr. Rugova said.

As another form of repression in Kosova, Dr. Rugova mentioned, the hardships concerning the publication of BUJKU, as all the publication mechanisms have been put under Serbian emergency management, therefore Serbs are in a position to create an information black-out in Kosova, thus leaving in Kosova Albanians only the foreign sources as means of information.

Referring to the statement of Dobrica Cosic, president of the self-styled Yugoslavia who threatened the West for its support to Kosova, Dr. Rugova said that the statement was a very sad one. "He, and others like him, we tell that the West has been supporting Kosova because great injustices are occurring here and state repression and terror is exercised. This support is not being given according to Mr. Cosic's old cliches of friends and enemies." Furthermore, Dr. Rugova added, "by threatening the West Cosic anticipates the beginning of the realization of war scenarios in Kosova, of which Cosic is very well aware of." Dr. Rugova added that the Cosic's statement is in contradiction to the content of his speech held before the members of a European Parliament Commission, in which he calls for the right to self-determination of nations in the Balkans, leaning on the well-known principles of the great American president Woodrow Wilson in the 20s. "For us," Dr. Rugova assessed, "this is hypocrisy and an inconsequence, through which Cosic wants to provoke and threaten other nations. Albanians in Kosova and the former Yugoslavia," according to him, "clearly have no right to self-determination, although he speaks for the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans in general," Dr. Rugova concluded.

Continuing the president of the Republic of Kosova called upon the Serbian authorities to accept the UN trusteeship over Kosova assessing that that would be a good solution for both Albanians and Serbs, as this would deter further war. He also hailed the adoption of the new UN Security Council resolution on the non-flying zone over Bosnia, as a right step.

Dr. Rugova repeated his call that the question of Kosova be dealt with as soon as possible at the UN Security Council, as "escalation of repression and developments in Kosova may lead towards dangers. We do not wish that a new war front be opened in Kosova, because it would have catastrophic consequences for all in Kosova and the region in general."

Replying to a question connected to the distribution of tracts by a clandestine organization calling for an armed uprising in Kosova, Dr. Rugova said that no other information were revealed but those contained in the tract. Its tone is militaristic and more radical for the solution of the Kosova problem, Dr. Rugova said, adding that in the current situation prevailing in Kosova one may expect such extremism, although people in Kosova are hoping for a political solution will be found for Kosova.

Pamphlets Calling for Uprising Found in Province

LD0204153393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—Pamphlets calling on Albanians to stage an uprising were found in several towns in Kosovo and Metohija in the past few days. The pamphlets are signed by an unknown separatist organization calling itself "the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo" [Nacionalni Pokret za Oslobodjenje Kosova].

The pamphlets stresses "the primary task is to form a union with the people, to organize and to set up a popular liberation front," which "will organize and conduct a war of the armed Shiptar [Siptarski] people for total national liberation."

The pamphlet claims "everything indicates that a war is inevitable."

Commenting on these pamphlets, Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], said at today's news conference "we have not heard before about this extreme radical organization." According to him, the emergence of this organization heralds the birth of a radical movement, which could exist as long as the grave situation in Kosovo continues. Rugova added that the people trust the DSK. He said he is convinced that his party will find "a peaceful political solution."

Organization Distributes Pamphlets

AU0204190693 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.64 in English 1 Apr 93

[Unattributed report published by the Democratic League of Kosova: "A Clandestine Organization Distributes Tracts Calling Upon Albanians to Rise Up"]

[Text] A clandestine organization named "The National Movement for the Liberation of Kosova" (Levizja Kombetare per Clirimin e Kosoves-LKCK) distributed last night tracts calling for full mobilization and uprising for the liberation of Kosova. The organization allegedly formed in March of this year, of which the Kosova opinion has never heard of, calls for an armed struggle against Serbia.

The tract which was distributed last night in several Kosova's towns and villages states, amongst others, in a militant and Communist-like style: "International as well as internal circumstances clearly indicated that war is inevitable."

The war in Croatia and Bosnia showed clearly that without a comprehensive popular mobilization and a strong military organization there will be no freedom. The occupiers will withdraw from Kosovo only by an armed struggle of the Albanian people, and by the spilled blood for freedom.

It is precisely for all these reasons and aims that the LKCK was formed.

The primary duty of LKCK is its tie with the masses, political education, and their organization towards the creation of the National Liberation Front, which would organize and lead the armed struggle of the Albanian people for full national liberation."

The tract goes on saying that "only the unity of the entire Albanian people will be able to confront this tempest" and ends with the underlined sentence: "Fully convinced that an armed struggle will be all means bring freedom, LKCK calls on decent people to make common cause in the service of the fatherland."

DSK Leader Supports No-Fly Zone Implementation

LD0204160793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—At a news conference today, Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], expressed support for the latest UN Security Council resolution which sanctions the use of force in policing the no-fly zone, since, in his view, it was adopted in the interest of peace in these lands.

The DSK leader especially welcomed, as he put it, the arrival of the 6th Fleet in Albania's territorial waters, something that, in his view, will put pressure on Serbia and Montenegro in the coming period.

Rugova described the operations of the army and police which are more frequent this week in Kosovo as well as the work of the financial police "who are plundering everything" as yet another form of applying pressure on Albanians to flee Kosovo.

DSK Vice President Agani said that the Albanian delegation will not attend the next round of talks on education in Geneva although it was invited by a representative of the Geneva conference to come on 7 and 8 April. We cannot talk while Ejup Statovci, a member of our delegation, is in prison, Agani said.

The self-styled rector of Pristina University, Ejup Statovci was recently sent to serve a 60-day term in prison. He was sentenced for his ultimatum addressed to the university authorities "that they vacate the university's premises so classes in the Albanian language can be conducted unhindered."